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A C C O U N T
O F T H E
C O N D U C T

Sarah (Jennings) Churchill
O F T H E

Dowager Duchess of MARLBOROUGH,

From her first coming to COURT,

To the Year 1710.

In a LETTER from Herself to MY LORD—

L O N D O N :

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This copy being a duplicate
& better than the old ^{one} which was
a Hancock copy, was substituted.

A

LETTER, &c.

MY LORD,

I HAVE been often told, that there is a Sort of Philosophy, by which People have brought themselves to be indifferent, not only whether they be at all remembered after Death, but whether in Case their Names should survive them, they be mentioned with Praise or Infamy. If this be really a Point of Wisdom, it is infinitely beyond my Reach ; and I shall own further, that it seems to me too refined and sublime to be attained by any Body, who has not first got rid of the Prejudices of Common Sense and Common Honesty. I will not pretend to say, that the Passion for Fame may not sometimes be excessive, and deservedly the Subject of Ridicule. But surely, my Lord, there never was a single Instance of a Person of true Honour, who was willing to be spoken of, either during Life or after it, as a Betrayer of his Country or his Friend.

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And I am persuaded your Lordship must have observed, that all those who, at this Day, declare themselves wholly careless about what the World, or the Circle of their Acquaintance will say of them, when they are dead, are quite as unconcerned to *deserve* a good Character, while they live.

For my own Part, I frankly confess to your Lordship and to the World, that whatever Vanity or Weakness the Ambition of a good Name may be thought, either by Philosophers or by Ministers of State, to imply, I have ever felt some Degree of that Ambition, from the Moment I could distinguish between Good and Evil. My chief Aim (if I have any Acquaintance with my own Heart) has been both in publick and private Life, to *deserve* Approbation ; but I have never been without an earnest Desire to *have* it too, both living and dead, from the wise and virtuous.

My Lord, this Passion has led me to take more Pains, than you would easily imagine.

It has sometimes carried me beyond the Sphere, to which the Men have thought proper, and perhaps, generally speaking, with good Reason, to confine our Sex. I have been a kind of Author. About forty Years ago, having understood that the Wife of the late Bishop *Burnet*, a Lady whom I greatly esteemed, had received unfavourable Impressions of me, on Account of the unhappy Differences between Queen *Mary* and her Sister, I wrote a faithful Narrative of that Affair, purely to satisfy that one Person.

And when, after my Dismissal from Queen *Anne's* Service, I perceived how industriously Malice was employed, in inventing Calumnies to load me with, I drew up an Account of my Conduct in the several Offices I had filled under her Majesty. This Piece I intended to publish immediately, but was dissuaded from it by a Person (of great Eminence at this Day) whom I thought my Friend. I have since imagined, that he had by Instinct an Aversion
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to *Accounting*. It was said, as a Reason for deferring the Publication of *my Account*, that Prejudice and Passion were grown too violent and stormy for the Voice of Reason to be heard, but that those would, after some Time, subside; and that the Truth, *then* brought to Light, would unavoidably prevail. I followed the Advice with the less Reluctance, as being conscious of the Power of an easy Vindication whenever my Patience should be push'd to Extremity.

After this I set myself another Task, to which I was partly urged by the Injustice, and, I may say, Ingratitude of the Whigs. It was to give an Account of my Conduct with Regard to Parties, and of the successful Artifice of Mr. *Harley* and Mrs. *Masham*, in taking Advantage of the Queen's Passion for what she called *The Church*, to undermine me in her Affections. In this Undertaking I had the Assistance of a Friend, to whom I furnished Materials. Some Parts of the Work were of my own Composition, being such Passages as no Body

but myself could relate with Exactness. This was not originally intended to be published till after my Death.

But, my Lord, as I am now drawing near my End, and very soon there will remain nothing of me, but a *Name*, I am grown desirous, under the little Capacity which Age and Infirmities have left me for other Enjoyments, to have the Satisfaction, before I die, of seeing that *Name*, (which, from the Station I have held in the great World, must unavoidably survive me) in *Possession* of what was only designed it for a *Legacy*. From this Desire I have caused the several Pieces above-mentioned to be connected together, and thrown into the Form, in which I now take the Liberty to address them to your Lordship. They may possibly be of some Use towards correcting the Folly and Injustice of those, who, in order to judge of the Conduct of others, begin with forming to themselves Characters of them, upon slight and idle Reports, and then make such Characters the Rule,

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by which they admit or reject whatever they afterwards hear concerning them. If any such happy Effect as this might reasonably be hoped from the Perusal of these Papers, I should be far from making any Apology for offering them to your Lordship: I would not call it, *troubling* your Lordship with them. No, my Lord, you will not esteem it a *Trouble*, to read them, even though you should judge them useless for the Purpose I have mentioned. The Friendship you favour me with, will make you find a particular Satisfaction in this Justification of my injured Character to the World. And I imagine, that there is no honest Mind, how much soever it may chance to be prejudiced against me, but will feel something of the same Pleasure, in being undeceived.

The original Letters, of which, either in Whole or in Part, the Copies will be here found, I have directed to be preserved in my Family, as incontestable Vouchers of the Truth of what I am going to relate.

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THE first Time that *my Favour with the Princess Anne of Denmark* became an Object of publick Attention, was upon the Quarrel between her Sister Queen *Mary*, and her, which happened a few Years after the Revolution. Here therefore your Lordship might naturally expect that I should begin my Relation: But as I have been blamed for some memorable Parts of the Princess's Conduct before that Quarrel, it will be necessary to my present Purpose to go back a little farther; and, perhaps, it may not be improper to say something even of the Birth and first Growth of *that Favour*, which has given Occasion to all the Calumnies with which I have been aspersed.

The Beginning of the Princess's Kindness for me had a much earlier Date than my Entrance into her Service. My Promotion to this Honour was wholly owing to Impressions she had before received to my Advantage; we had used to play together when she was a Child, and she even then expres-

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fed a particular Fondness for me. This Inclination encreased with our Years. I was often at Court, and the Princess always distinguished me by the Pleasure she took to honour me, preferably to others, with her Conversation and Confidence. In all her Parties for Amusement, I was sure, by her Choice, to be one ; and so desirous she became of having me always near her, that, upon her Marriage with the Prince of *Denmark* in 1683, it was, at her own earnest Request to her Father, I was made one of the Ladies of her Bed-chamber.

What conduced to render me the more agreeable to her in this Station was, doubtless, the Dislike she had conceived to most of the other Persons about her ; and particularly to her first Lady of the Bed-chamber, the Countess of *Clarendon* ; a Lady, whose Discourse and Manner (though the Princess thought they agreed very well together) could not possibly recommend her to so young a Mistress: For she looked like a Mad-woman, and talked like a Scholar.

Indeed her Highness's Court was throughout so oddly compos'd, that I think it would be making myself no great Compliment, if I should say, her chusing to spend more of her Time with me, than with any of her other Servants, did no Discredit to her Taste. Be that as it will, it is certain she at length distinguished me by so high a Place in her Favour, as perhaps no Person ever arriv'd at a higher with Queen or Princess. And, if from hence I may draw any Glory, it is, that I both obtained and held this Place without the Assistance of Flattery; A Charm, which in Truth her Inclination for me, together with my unwearied Application to serve and amuse her, rendered needless; but which, had it been otherwise, my Temper and Turn of Mind would never have suffered me to employ.

Young as I was, when I first became this high Favourite, I laid it down for a Maxim, that Flattery was Falshood to my Trust, and Ingratitude to my greatest Friend; and that I did not deserve so much Favour, if I

could not venture the Loss of it by speaking the Truth, and by preferring the real Interest of my Mistress before the pleasing her Fancy, or the sacrificing to her Passion. From this Rule I never swerved. And though my Temper and my Notions in most Things were widely different from those of the Princess, yet during a long Course of Years, she was so far from being displeased with me for openly speaking my Sentiments, that she sometimes professed a Desire, and even added her Command, that it should be always continued, promising never to be offended at it, but to love me the better for my Frankness.

Favour with a Princess upon these Terms engaged me to her in the Manner that it ought ; I mean, by a Sentiment which I chuse to call *Honour*, rather than *Gratitude or Duty*, because while it implies all the Justice and Affection of these, it seems to express a more disinterested Principle of Action. For I can truly affirm, that I never considered myself on any Occasion
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where her Interest or Glory was concerned, nor had I any Idea of a Misery which I would not have sooner incurred, than the inward Shame of being conscious of a Failure in this Respect. The Facts themselves which I am going to relate, will in a great Degree evince the Truth of what I say; and that the Princess was perfectly persuaded of it, is, I think, sufficiently manifest both from her Letters to me, and from that unreserved Intimacy of Friendship, in which we for many Years lived together.

Kings and Princes, for the most Part, imagine they have a Dignity peculiar to their Birth and Station, which ought to raise them above all Connexion of Friendship with an Inferior. Their Passion is to be admired and feared, to have Subjects awfully obedient, and Servants blindly obsequious to their Pleasure. Friendship is an offensive Word; it imports a Kind of Equality between the Parties; it suggests nothing to the Mind of Crowns or Thrones,

high Titles, or immense Revenues, Fountains of Honour, or Fountains of Riches; Prerogatives which the Possessors would have always uppermost in the Thoughts of those who are permitted to approach them.

The Princess had a different Taste. A Friend was what she most coveted; and for the Sake of Friendship (a Relation which she did not disdain to have with me) she was fond even of that *Equality* which she thought belonged to it. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the Form and Ceremony due to her Rank; nor could she bear from me the Sound of Words which implied in them Distance and Superiority. It was this Turn of Mind, which made her one Day propose to me, that whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our Letters write ourselves by feigned Names, such as would import nothing of Distinction of Rank between us. *Morley* and *Freeman* were the Names her Fancy hit upon; and she left me to chuse by which of them I would be called. My
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frank, open Temper naturally led me to pitch upon *Freeman*, and so the Princess took the other ; and from this Time Mrs. *Morley* and Mrs. *Freeman* began to converse as Equals, made so by Affection and Friendship.

Soon after the Decease of King *Charles* the Second, Lord *Clarendon* was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of *Ireland*, to which Country his Lady was to go with him. The Princess received a sensible Joy from this Event ; not only as it released her from a Person very disagreeable to her, but as it gave her an Opportunity of promoting me to be first Lady of her Bed-chamber ; which she immediately did, with a Satisfaction to herself that was not to be concealed.

During her Father's whole Reign she kept her Court as private as she could, consistent with her Station. What were the Designs of that unhappy Prince every Body knows. They came soon to shew themselves undisguised, and Attempts were made

to draw his Daughter into them. The King indeed used no Harshness with her ; he only discovered his Wishes, by putting into her Hands some Books and Papers, which he hoped might induce her to a Change of Religion ; and had she had any Inclination that Way, the Chaplains about her were such Divines as could have said but little in Defence of their own Religion, or to secure her against the Pretences of Popery, recommended to her by a Father and a King.

Lord *Tyrconnel* also, who had married my Sister, took some Pains with me, to engage me, if possible, to make Use, for the same End, of that great Favour which he knew I enjoyed with the Princess : But all his Endeavours proved vain ; and it was not long before all the Danger blew over, the Projects of that Reign being effectually disappointed, almost as soon as they were openly avowed.

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Upon the Landing of the Prince of *Orange* in 1688, the King went down to *Salisbury* to his Army, and the Prince of *Denmark* with him ; but the News quickly came from thence, that the Prince of *Denmark* had left the King, and was gone over to the Prince of *Orange*, and that the King was coming back to *London*. This put the Princess into a great Fright. She sent for me, told me her Distress, and declared, *That rather than see her Father she would jump out at Window*. This was her very Expression.

A little before, a Note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Bishop of *London*, (who in that critical Time absconded) if her Royal Highness should have Occasion for a Friend. The Princess on this Alarm, immediately sent me to the Bishop. I acquainted him with her Resolution to leave the Court, and to put herself under his Care. It was hereupon agreed, that, when he had advised

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with his Friends in the City, he should come about Midnight in a Hackney Coach to the Neighbourhood of the *Cockpit*, in order to convey the Princess to some Place where she might be private and safe.

The Princess went to Bed at the usual Time to prevent Suspicion. I came to her soon after; and by the Back-stairs which went down from her Closet, her Royal Highness, my Lady *Fitzharding*, and I, with one Servant, walked to the Coach, where we found the Bishop, and the Earl of *Dorset*. They conducted us that Night to the Bishop's House in the City, and the next Day to my Lord *Dorset's* at *Copt-hall*. From thence we went to the Earl of *Northampton's*, and from thence to *Nottingham*, where the Country gathered about the Princess; nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of *Orange's* Friends.

The most remarkable Thing that happened to the Princess during her Stay at this Place,

Place, was a Letter she received from Lord *Clarendon*. It was full of Compliments, and at the same time full of Complaints, that she had not told him of a thing he lik'd so well, that he might have had a Share in it. How well these *Complaints and the Earnestness* he shewed (in a Consultation held at *Windsor*, before the Prince of *Orange* came to *London*) to have King James sent to the *Tower*, agreed with his Conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the World to judge.

As this Flight of the Princess to *Nottingham* has by some been ignorantly, not to say, maliciously, imputed to my Policy and premeditated Contrivance, I thought it necessary to give this short, but exact relation of it. It was a thing sudden and unconcerted; nor had I any Share in it, farther than obeying my Mistress's Orders in the Particulars I have mentioned; though indeed I had reason enough on my own account, to get out of the way, Lord *Churhill* having likewise at that time left the King, and gone over to the other Party.

Quickly

Quickly after this, the King fled into *France*. The Throne was hereupon declared vacant, and presently fill'd with the Prince and Princess of *Orange*. The Parliament thought proper to settle the Crown on King *William* for Life, and the Princess of *Denmark* gave her Consent to it. This was another Event which furnish'd simple People with a Pretence to censure me. It was insinuated, that, to make my Court to the King and Queen, I had influenced the Princess to forego her undoubted Rights. The Truth is, I did persuade her to consent to the Project of that Settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made. But no regard to the King or Queen, nor any View of Ambition, had the least Share in moving me to this Conduct, any more than to what inconsiderable Part I acted in the Business of the Revolution.

As to the latter, it was evident to all the World, that as things were carried on by King *James*, every body sooner or later must

must be ruin'd, who would not become a *Roman* Catholick. This Consideration made me very well pleased at the Prince of *Orange's* undertaking to rescue us from such Slavery. But I do solemnly protest, that, if there be Truth in any Mortal, I was so very simple a Creature, that I never once dreamt of his being King. Having never read, nor employ'd my time in any thing but playing at Cards; and, having no Ambition my self, I imagined that the Prince of *Orange's* sole Design was to provide for the Safety of his own Country, by obliging King *James* to keep the Laws of Ours; and that he would go back as soon as he had made us all happy; that there was no sort of Difficulty in the Execution of this Design, and that to do so much Good would be a greater Pleasure to him than to be King of any Country upon Earth. I was soon taught to know the World better. However, as I was perfectly convinced that a *Roman* Catholick is not to be trusted with the Liberties of *England*, I never once repined at the Change of the Government,

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no, not in all the time of that long Persecution I went through. I might, perhaps, wish, it had been compass'd by some other Man who had more Honour and Justice than he, who could depose his Father-in-law, and Uncle, to maintain Liberty and Laws, and then act the Tyrant himself in many Instances; but I never once wish'd that the Change had not been made.

And, as to giving King *William* the Crown for Life, it was the same Principle of regard for the public Welfare that carried me to advise the Princess to acquiesce in it. It is true, that when the thing was first started, I did not see any Necessity for such a Measure; and I thought it so unreasonable, that I took a great deal of Pains (which I believe the King and Queen never forgot) to promote my Mistress's Pretensions. But I quickly found that all Endeavours of that kind would be ineffectual; that all the principal Men, except the Jacobites, were for the King, and, that the Settlement would be carried in Parliament, whether
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the Princess consented to it, or not. So that in reality there was nothing advisable but to yield with a good Grace.

I confess, had I been in her Place, I should have thought it more for my Honour to be easy in this Matter than to shew an Impatience to get Possession of a Crown that had been wrested from my Father. And, as it ought to have been a great Trouble to the Children of King *James* to be forced to act the Part they did against him, even for the Security of Liberty and Religion, (which was truly the Case) so it seemed to me, that she, who discovered the less Ambition, would have the more amiable Character. However, as I was fearful about every thing the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by me, I could not satisfy my own Mind, till I had consulted with several Persons of undisputed Wisdom and Integrity, and particularly with the Lady *Russell* of *Southampton*-House, and Dr. *Tillotson*, afterwards Archbishop of *Canterbury*. I found them all unanimous
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in the Opinion of the *Expediency of the Settlement proposed, as things were then situated*. In Conclusion, therefore, I carried Dr. *Tillotson* to the Princess, and, upon what he said to her, she took care that no Disturbance should be made by her pretended Friends, the Jacobites; who had press'd her earnestly to form an Opposition.

This is the true Account of my Proceeding in that Affair; and, I believe that some Events which soon followed it, and which in part occasioned the memorable Quarrel between the two Sisters, will sufficiently clear me from all Suspicion of intending an interested, base Courtship to that Reign, in Violation of the Attachment I owed the Princess.

It is certain, and by every body known, that the immediate Occasion of the open Breach between her Majesty and the Princess of *Denmark* was the Princess's refusing to obey the Queen's Command *to remove me from about her Person*. But no one, I think,

think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the Queen's Dislike of me was only on account of my being the Wife of Lord *Marlborough*, who happened then to be in Disgrace with the King; or that her Majesty would have insisted on a Demand so painful to her Sister, had they till then lived together in the Harmony, which should naturally be preserved between Sisters, especially when embark'd in one common Cause against a Father in Defence of Religion.

To clear up this Matter then, and to discover the true Sources of that famous Quarrel, it will be necessary to recur to some preceding Events which unfortunately led the Way to it.

On the Arrival of Queen *Mary* in *England*, the Princess of *Denmark* went to meet her, and there was great Appearance of Kindness between them. But this quickly wore off, and a visible Coldness ensued; which I believe was partly occasioned by the Persuasion the King had, that the Prince and

Princess had been of more Use to him, than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different Characters, and Humours of the two Sisters. It was indeed impossible they should be very agreeable Companions to each other; because Queen *Mary* grew weary of any body who would not talk a great deal; and the Princess was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer a Question. But this was not all. In the very beginning of that Reign there happened some Events, which, as they discovered an uncommon Disregard in the Queen for her Sister, must naturally produce an answerable Discontent in the Princess. And here I cannot forbear saying, that whatever good Qualities Queen *Mary* had to make her popular, it is too evident by many Instances *that she wanted Bowels.*

Of this she seemed to me to give an unquestionable Proof the first Day she came to *Whitehall*. I was one of those who had the Honour to wait on her to her own Apartment. She ran about it, looking into every

every Closet and Conveniency, and turning up the Quilts upon the Bed, as People do when they come into an Inn, and with no other sort of Concern in her Appearance, but such as they express; a Behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely caress'd by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For, whatever Necessity there was of deposing King *James*, he was still her Father, who had been so lately driven from that Chamber, and that Bed; and, if she felt no Tenderneſs, I thought she should at least have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a Reverse of his Fortune. But I kept these Thoughts in my own Breast, not imparting them even to my Mistress, to whom I could say any thing with all the Freedom imaginable. And it was impossible for any Body to labour more than I did to keep the two Sisters in perfect Union and Friendship; thinking it best for them both not to quarrel when their true Interest and Safety were jointly concerned to support the Revolution. But how impracticable the Preservation of this Union

was rendered by the Queen herself will sufficiently appear by what I am now going to relate.

The Princess, soon after the King's coming to *Whitehall*, had a Mind to leave her Lodgings (the Way from which to the Queen's Apartment was very inconvenient) and to go to those that had been the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's*, which the King on her Request told her she should have. But the Princess requesting also (for the Conveniency of her Servants) some other Lodgings that lay nearest to those of the Dutchess, this Matter met with Difficulty; though her Highness in Exchange for what she asked was to give the whole Cockpit (which was more than an Equivalent) to be disposed of for the King's Use. For the Duke of *Devonshire* took into his Head, that, could he have the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's* Lodgings, where there was a fine Room for *Balls*, it would give him a very magnificent Air. And it was very plain, that, while this Matter was in Debate, between
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the King, and Queen, and Princess, my Lord *Devonshire's* chief Business was, to raise so many Difficulties in making the Princess easy in those Lodgings, as at last to gain his Point. After many Conversations upon the Affair, the Queen told the Princess *that she could not let her have the Lodgings she desired for her Servants, till my Lord Devonshire had resolved whether he would have them, or a Part of the Cockpit:* Upon which the Princess answered, *she would then stay where she was, for she would not have my Lord Devonshire's Leavings.* So she took the Dutchess of *Portsmouth's* Apartment, granted her at first, and used it for her Children, remaining her self at the Cockpit.

Much about the same time the Princess, who had a Fondness for the House at *Richmond* (where she had lived when a Child) and who, besides, thought the Air of that Place good for the Children, desired that House of the Queen; but that likewise was refused her, though for many Years no

Use had been made of it, but for Madame *Possaire*, a Sister of my Lady *Orkney's*, and Mr. *Hill*.

The Princess, notwithstanding these Mortifications, continued to pay all imaginable Respect to the King and Queen. But this did not hinder her Majesty from expressing a great deal of Displeasure, when some Steps were made in Parliament towards settling a Revenue on the Prince and Princess. Taking her Sister one Night to Talk for it, she asked her *what was the Meaning of those Proceedings?* To which the Princess answered, *she heard her Friends had a Mind to make her some Settlement.* The Queen hastily replied with a very imperious Air, *Pray what Friends have you but the King and me?* I had not the Honour to attend the Princess that Night; but when she came back, she repeated this to me. And indeed I never saw her express so much Resentment as she did at this Usage; and I think it must be allowed she had great Reason. For it was unjust in her Sister not to allow

allow her a decent Provision, without an entire Dependence on the King. And besides, the Princess had in a short time learnt that she must be very miserable, if she was to have no Support but the Friendship of the two Persons her Majesty had mentioned.

After this the Queen said no more to the Princess on the Subject of the Settlement, though they met every Day; and the Affair went on so well in the House of Commons, that her Friends were encouraged to propose for her a much larger Revenue than was at last obtained; to prevent which, by gaining Time, the King prorogued the Parliament.

The Business however was resumed again at the next Meeting; and then all possible Endeavours were used, to engage me by Flattery and by Fear, to dissuade the Princess from the Pursuit of a Settlement. My Lady *Fitzbarding*, who was more than any Body in the Queen's Favour, and for whom it was well known that I had a singular

gular Affection, was the Person chiefly employed in this Undertaking. Sometimes she attacked me on the Side of my own Interest, telling me, *That if I would not put an End to Measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the Ruin of my Lord, and consequently of all our Family.* When she found that this had no Effect, she endeavoured to alarm my Fears for the Princess, by saying, *that those Measures would in all Probability ruin her. For no Body, but such as flattered me, believed the Princess would carry her Point; and in case she did not, the King would not think himself obliged to do any Thing for her. That it was perfect Madness in me to persist, and I had better ten thousand times persuade the Princess to let the Thing fall, and so make all easy to the King and Queen.*

But all this, and a great deal more that was said, was so far from inclining me to do what was desired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the Success of the Princess's Affair, and more earnest, if possible,

possible, in the Prosecution of it. For, as I would have died, rather than have made my Court to that Reign by sacrificing the Interest of the Princess, so there was nothing I dreaded more, than, by the least Appearance of Negligence, or Coldness in the present Cause, to give Ground to suspect me of having been flattered, or frightened into so base a Conduct. I employed therefore all the Powers I was capable of exerting to advance the Design. I knew the Thing was reasonable, the Princess's Happiness was concerned in it, and there was a fair Prospect of succeeding. Besides, I thought that whatever happened in Parliament, the King could not well avoid giving some Allowance to the next Heir to the Crown. And, if he should give her nothing, she had however by the Marriage-Settlement, 20,000 *l.* a Year, which would keep her in a retired Way, much more agreeably than she could hope to live at Court, if she depended on his Generosity; of which I had no Opinion: For the late Lord *Godolphin* had told me, that the King,

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on some Meeting at the *Treasury*, speaking of the Civil List, *wondered very much how the Princess could spend 30,000 l. a Year*, though it appeared afterwards that some of his Favourites had more. And there were other Parts of the King's Conduct (which shall be mentioned in a proper Place) whereby it sufficiently appeared, that I did not mistake in my Opinion of his Disposition.

But, to return to the Affair in Parliament. A Day or two before it was put to the Vote in the House of Commons, I was extremely surprized by a Message from the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who, as he did not visit me, sent to desire to speak with me about Business. When he came, he told me, *That he was sent by the King, who promised to give the Princess 50,000 l. a Year, if she would desist from soliciting the Settlement by Parliament, and that he was confident his Majesty would keep his Word: That if he did not, he was sure he would not serve him an Hour after he broke it. I said, that such a Resolution might be very right*

as to his Grace, but that I did not see it would be of any Use to the Princess, if his Majesty should not perform the Promise. The Duke, to convince me of the Reasonableness of what he proposed, added a great deal which had no Effect ; and I desired he would attend the Princess herself, to which he consented. I went to her at his Request to acquaint her of his coming. Her Answer to him was, *That she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a Security for what was to support her ; and that the Business was now gone so far, that she thought it reasonable to see what her Friends could do for her.*

I need not tell you that the Princess carried her Point, and that 50,000 *l.* was settled by Parliament. For when the King found that he could not persuade her to an entire Dependancy upon him, he compounded the Matter with her Friends upon these Terms, to hinder their insisting on a larger Settlement. The Parliament had shewed an Inclination that Way: But it
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was at length thought advisable by the Princess's Friends, that she should accept of 50,000 *l.* securely settled, rather than have any farther Struggle, considering the great Power and Influence of the Crown, by Means of its Dependants.

Nevertheless, I was so fearful lest the Princess should suffer for Want of good Advice, that after I had heard of the Commons voting 50,000 *l.* a Year, I sent to speak with my Lord *Rocheſter*, and asked his Opinion, whether the Princess ought to be satisfied, or whether it was reasonable she should try to get more. (I did not then know how much his Heart was bent on making his Court to the Queen.) His Answer to me was, *That he thought, not only that the Princess ought to be satisfied with 50,000 l. but that she ought to have taken it in any Way the King and Queen pleased.* Which made me reflect that he would not have liked that Advice in the Case of his own 4000 *l.* a Year from the Post-office settled on him and his Son.

But

But I was not so uncivil, as to speak my Thought, nor so foolish as to struggle any longer. For most of those who had been prevailed with to promote the Settlement were Tories, among whom my Lord *Rochester* was a very great Man. Their Zeal on the present Occasion was, doubtless, to thwart King *William*; for I never observed that, on any other, they discovered much Regard for the Princess of *Denmark*.

The Success of the Affair was chiefly imputed to the Steadiness and Diligence of my Lord *Marlborough* and me, both by those, to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her, to whose Happiness it was then so necessary.

On one Side, it was the chief Source of all the Dissatisfaction of the King and Queen with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the Princess with as deep a Sense of the Kindness, as could be expressed, and in a Manner generous to a very high Degree.

A little above a Year after the Settlement was made, I was surpriz'd with a Letter from her, wherein she offered me the yearly Pension of 1000 *l*. Some of her Words are these ; *I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed, ever since my Revenue was settled, to desire you would accept of a Thousand Pounds a Year. — I beg you would only look upon it as an Earnest of my Good-will, but never mention any Thing of it to me ; for I shall be ashamed to have any Notice taken of such a Thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return.*

And some Time afterwards, a little Delay being made by her Treasurer in the Payment of it, she wrote another Letter, wherein were these Words ; *'Tis long since I mentioned this Thing to dear Mrs. Freeman. She has all the Reason in the World to believe I did not mean what I said, or that I have changed my Mind, which are both so ill Qualities, that I cannot bear you should*

should have Cause to think your faithful Morley is capable of being guilty of either.

The Circumstances of my Family at this Time were not very great; yet I was so far from catching at so free and large an Offer, that I could not persuade myself to accept of it, till I had sent the first Letter to Lord *Godolphin*, and consulted him upon the Matter. It was his Opinion, that there was no Reason in the World for me to refuse it. And perhaps no one else will think otherwise, who believes, as he did, that the settling of the Princess's Revenue had been chiefly owing to my Lord *Marlborough's* indefatigable Industry, and to mine.

The next Difference that happened between the Sisters, was upon the Prince's Design of going to Sea. He was carried to this Resolution by his Unwillingness to stay at Home, while there was so much Action abroad; and by the Remembrance of the extreme ill Usage he had met with, when, at a great Expence, he attended his Majesty

Majesty into *Ireland*. For the King would not suffer his Royal Highness to go in the Coach with him : An Affront never put upon a Person of that Rank before.

The Prince however submitted to this Indignity, it being too late to take any Measures to avoid it. Nor, during the whole Campaign, did he fail in any Part of Duty or Respect, though the King never took more Notice of him, than if he had been a Page of the Back Srairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the Prince to chuse a Sea-expedition, rather than expose himself again to the like contemptuous Usage. On his taking Leave of the King, who was going to *Flanders*, he asked his Majesty's Permission to serve him at Sea as a Volunteer, and without any Command. The King said nothing ; but immediately embraced him by Way of adieu. Silence in such Cases being generally taken for Consent, the Prince prepared his Equipage, and
sent

sent every Thing on board. But the King, as it afterwards appeared, had left Orders with the Queen, that she should neither suffer the Prince to go to Sea, nor yet forbid him to go, if she could so contrive Matters, as to make his staying at home his own Choice.

The Queen observed the King's Directions very exactly. She sent a great Lord to me, to desire I would persuade the Princess to keep the Prince from going to Sea; and this I was to compass, without letting the Princess know that it was the Queen's Desire. I answered, *That I had all the Duty imaginable for the Queen, but that no Consideration could make me so failing to my Mistress, as I should think myself, if I spoke to her upon that Occasion, and concealed the Reason of it. That it was natural for the Princess to wish the Prince might stay at Home, and be out of Danger; but whether she could prevail in that Matter, I did very much doubt. That nevertheless I would say to the Princess what-*

D

ever

ever her Majesty pleased, provided I might have the Liberty to make Use of her Name. After this, the Queen sent my Lord Rochester to me, to desire much the same Thing. The Prince was not to go to Sea, and his not going was to appear his own Choice. But after so much Noise as had been made about his going, the Prince thought, that to send for his Things back, without giving any Reason for changing his Design, would be making a very ridiculous Figure, and therefore he would not submit. Upon which the Queen sent my Lord Nottingham in Form, positively to forbid the Prince of Denmark's going to Sea.

Notwithstanding all these Things, the Queen and Princess lived, in Appearance, for some Time after, as if nothing had happened, till the King was pleased (without publicly assigning any particular Reason) to remove my Lord Marlborough from all his Employments. His Majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell him, that he had no more Occasion for his Service. This Event might perhaps
be

be well enough accounted for, by saying, that Lord *Portland* had ever a great Prejudice to my Lord *Marlborough*, and that my Lady *Orkney*, (then Mrs. *Villiers*) though I had never done her any Injury, except not making Court to her, was my implacable Enemy. But, I think, it is not to be doubted, that the principal Cause of the King's Message was the Court's Dislike that any Body should have so much Interest with the Princess as I had, who would not implicitly obey every Command of the King and Queen. The Disgrace of my Lord *Marlborough* therefore was designed as a Step towards removing me from about her.

A Letter from the Queen to her Sister, which I shall presently give you, affords Ground for this Opinion. And the Behaviour of my Lord *Rochester*, who was much in the Queen's Favour, and Councils, confirms it. He had warmly opposed my coming into the Princess's Family, and he now shewed himself very desirous to have me removed, believing, without Question,

that could this be compassed, he should infallibly have the Government of both Sisters: Though certainly, as to the Princess, he never discovered any such Regard for her, as should give him a Title to her Confidence.

But to come to the Sequel of the King's Message. I solemnly protest, that the Loss of my Lord *Marlborough's* Employments would never have broke my Rest one single Night upon Account of Interest; but, I confess, *the being turned out* is something very disagreeable to my Temper. And, I believe it was three Weeks, before my best Friends could persuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a Court, which (as I thought) had used my Lord *Marlborough* very ill. However at last they prevailed. And I remember the chief Argument was urged by my Lord *Godolphin*, who said, that it could not be thought, I made any mean Court to the King and Queen, since to attend the Princess, was only paying my Duty where it was owing.

I waited

I waited therefore on my Mistress to *Kensington*. The Consequence was such, as my Friends having no Reason to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next Day the Queen wrote to her Sister the following Letter.

Kensington, Friday, the 5th of Feb.

‘ Having something to say to you, which
 ‘ I know will not be very pleasing, I chuse
 ‘ rather to write it first, being unwilling to
 ‘ surprize you; though, I think, what I
 ‘ am going to tell you, should not, if you
 ‘ give yourself the Time to think, that ne-
 ‘ ver any Body was suffered to live at Court
 ‘ in my Lord *Marlborough*’s Circumstances.
 ‘ I need not repeat the Cause he has given
 ‘ the King to do what he has done, nor his
 ‘ Unwillingness at all Times to come to
 ‘ such Extremities, though People do de-
 ‘ serve it.

‘ I hope, you do me the Justice to be-
 ‘ lieve, it is as much against my Will, that
 ‘ I now tell you, that, after this, it is very

‘ unfit Lady *Marlborough* should stay with
 ‘ you, since that gives her Husband so just
 ‘ a Pretence of being where he ought not.

‘ I think, I might have expected you
 ‘ should have spoke to me of it. And the
 ‘ King and I, both believing it, made Us
 ‘ stay thus long. But seeing you was so
 ‘ far from it, that you brought Lady *Marl-*
 ‘ *borough* hither last Night, makes Us re-
 ‘ solve to put it off no longer, but tell you,
 ‘ she must not stay ; and that I have all
 ‘ the Reason imaginable to look upon your
 ‘ bringing her, as the strangest Thing that
 ‘ ever was done. Nor could all my Kindness
 ‘ for you (which is ever ready to turn all
 ‘ you do the best Way, at any other Time)
 ‘ have hindred me shewing you that Mo-
 ‘ ment, but I considered your Condition,
 ‘ and that made me master myself so far,
 ‘ as not to take Notice of it then.

‘ But now I must tell you, it was very
 ‘ unkind in a Sister, would have been very
 ‘ uncivil in an Equal, and I need not say
 I have

‘ I have more to claim. Which, though
 ‘ my Kindness would make me never ex-
 ‘ act, yet when I see the Use you would
 ‘ make of it, I must tell you, I know what
 ‘ is due to me, and expect to have it from
 ‘ you. ’Tis upon that Account, I tell you
 ‘ plainly, Lady *Marlborough* must not con-
 ‘ tinue with you in the Circumstances her
 ‘ Lord is.

‘ I know this will be uneasy to you, and
 ‘ I am sorry for it ; and it is very much so
 ‘ to me to say all this to you, for I have
 ‘ all the real Kindness imaginable for you,
 ‘ and as I ever have, so will always do my
 ‘ Part to live with you as Sisters ought.
 ‘ That is, not only like so near Relations,
 ‘ but like Friends. And, as such, I did
 ‘ think to write to you. For I would
 ‘ have made myself believe your Kindness
 ‘ for her made you at first forget That you
 ‘ should have for the King and me ; and
 ‘ resolved to put you in mind of it myself,
 ‘ neither of Us being willing to come to
 ‘ harsher Ways.

‘ But the Sight of Lady *Marlborough*
 ‘ having changed my Thoughts, does na-
 ‘ turally alter my Stile. And since by that
 ‘ I see how little you seem to consider what
 ‘ even in common Civility you owe Us, I
 ‘ have told it you plainly; but withal as-
 ‘ sure you, that let me have never so much
 ‘ Reason to take any Thing ill of you, my
 ‘ Kindness is so great, that I can pass over
 ‘ most Things, and live with you, as be-
 ‘ comes me. And I desire to do so merely
 ‘ from that Motive. For I do love you, as
 ‘ my Sister, and nothing but yourself can
 ‘ make me do otherwise. And that is the
 ‘ Reason I chuse to write this, rather than
 ‘ tell it you, that you may overcome your
 ‘ first Thoughts; and when you have well
 ‘ considered, you will find, that though the
 ‘ Thing be hard, (which I again assure you
 ‘ I am sorry for) yet it is not unreasonable,
 ‘ but what has ever been practised, and
 ‘ what you yourself would do, were you in
 ‘ my Place.

‘ I will end this with once more desiring
 ‘ you

' you to consider the Matter impartially,
 ' and take Time for it. I do not desire an
 ' Answer presently, because I would not
 ' have you give a rash one. I shall come
 ' to your Drawing-Room To-morrow be-
 ' fore you play, because you know why I
 ' cannot make one: At some other Time
 ' we shall reason the Business calmly;
 ' which I will willingly do, or any Thing
 ' else that may shew, it shall never be my
 ' Fault if we do not live kindly together:
 ' Nor will I ever be other by Choice, but
 ' your truly loving and affectionate Sister,

M. R.

I am perhaps too much concerned in the
 Affair to be a proper Judge of this Letter.
 However, I shall take the Liberty to re-
 mark, that it seems not easy to reconcile
 the Queen's being sorry *to say so much*,
 with her employing at the same Time such
useless Repetitions; as if it had been a Plea-
 sure to her to remind her Sister of the Dis-
 tance between them, and of what was due
 from the Princess of *Denmark* to the Queen
 of

of *England*. And I have wondered too, that so much Kindness for a Sister, big with Child, and so much Piety (for it must be observed the Queen was in Devotion) did not hinder her from doing a Thing which she owns is *hard*. Her Majesty indeed says, that *though it be hard, it is not unreasonable; but what has ever been practised, and what the Princess herself would do in her Place*. What the Princess would have done in her Place, no Body can tell: (she herself thought that she would not have done like the Queen.) But that it was not the *constant Practice* is certain from many Instances to the contrary, and particularly one, at that very Time in the Case of the Marchioness of *Halifax*. And if the Practice was not constant, how reasonable it was for the Queen to insist upon it in my Case, I believe, I may safely leave to the Judgment of her most zealous Advocates.

For how disagreeable soever to the Queen my Conduct had been, it would have proved no easy Task to her, to find in any Part of
it

it a plausible reason for pressing the Princess to part with me. Would any Person, who deserves to be in the *Service* (not to say *intimate Friendship*) of a Princess, have acted otherwise than I did, in relation to those Points in which only I can be supposed to have disobliged their Majesties?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the Affair of the Succession to the Crown? And to be willing, *without the Necessity of publick Good*, that my Mistress, my Friend, the Princess of *Denmark* should yield her Birthright to the Prince of *Orange*?

Could I, consistently with Honour, have advised the Princess to desist from her Attempt to get a Maintenance settled by Parliament, and leave her self to the Generosity of a King and Queen, who by several Slights and Affronts put upon her, had shew'd how very little they were concerned about her Happiness?

Was the part which the Queen would
 2 have

have had me act in relation to the Prince's going to Sea, such, as any Person who had the least Regard for his Highness's Character and Glory, would have consented to perform?

Doubtless my Behaviour on all these Occasions was criminal in the Queen's Eyes; but this was only because she was *Queen*; for she had formerly looked upon my Attachment and Fidelity to her Sister in a very different Light.

As a Proof of this, I shall give your Lordship two Letters, which I received from her when she was Princess of *Orange*. I had many others in the same Stile which were lost in the Hurry of the Revolution.

Loo, September the 30th.

‘ Dr. *Stanley's* going to *England* is too
 ‘ good an Opportunity for me to lose of
 ‘ assuring Lady *Churchill*, she cannot give me
 ‘ greater Satisfaction than letting me know
 ‘ the firm resolution both Lord *Churchill*
 ‘ and

‘ and you have taken, never to be wanting
 ‘ in what you owe your Religion. Such a
 ‘ generous Resolution I am sure must make
 ‘ you deserve the Esteem of all good People,
 ‘ and my Sister’s in particular. I need say
 ‘ nothing of mine, you have it upon a
 ‘ double Account, as my Sister’s Friend,
 ‘ besides what I have said already ; and you
 ‘ may be assured, that I shall always be
 ‘ glad of an Occasion to shew it both to
 ‘ your Lord and you.

‘ I have nothing more to add ; for your
 ‘ Friendship makes my Sister as dear to you
 ‘ as to me, and I am persuaded we shall
 ‘ ever agree in our Care for her ; as, I be-
 ‘ lieve, she and I should in our Kindness
 ‘ for you, were we near enough to renew
 ‘ our Acquaintance.

MARIE.

‘ IF it were as easy for me to write to
 ‘ my Lady *Churchill* as it is hard to find
 ‘ a safe Hand, she might justly wonder at
 ‘ my long Silence ; but I hope she does me

' more Justice than to think it my Fault.
 ' I have little to say at present. To answer
 ' the melancholy Reflections in your last is
 ' now too late; *but I hope my Sister and*
 ' *you will never part.* I send you here one
 ' for her, and have not any more time now
 ' than only to assure you, that I shall never
 ' forget the Kindness you shewed to her
 ' who is so dear to me. That, and all
 ' the Good I have heard of you, will make
 ' me ever your affectionate Friend, which
 ' I shall be ready to shew otherwise than by
 ' Words whenever I have an Opportunity.'

Your Lordship sees by these Letters that
 the very same Tenour of Behaviour towards
 the Princess, which afterwards displeas'd the
 Queen, gave me at that Time a Recom-
 mendation to her Affection; but the Case
 was alter'd. And the Princess of *Den-*
mark was now, at the Queen of *England's*
 Command, to put away *that kind, dear*
Friend whom the Princess of *Orange* had
hoped she would never part with. And she
 was to do this, not for any Fault I had
 committed,

committed, but only because I was the Wife of my Lord *Marlborough*, who happened to be in Disgrace with the King.

Had the Queen really had Custom on her Side to countenance her in this harsh Command, yet surely what was mere Custom, and had no Law to support it, might well have been neglected in the present Case, in favour of Reason and Humanity.

She calls her Command *hard*, because of the *Kindness* she knew the Princess had for me. But had she mentioned the *Reasons* too of that Kindness, the Severity of her Injunction would have been more conspicuous. I speak not now of the Princess's Inclination for me, previous to Services on my part, but of that Kindness which proceeded from her Experience of my disinterested Attachment to her Interests and Happiness. I say *disinterested* Attachment. For the Princess knew that the Queen, after her coming into *England*, did me many
Honours

Honours which would have engaged some People to fix the Foundation of their future Fortune in her Favour; and that there was no Person more likely than I, to rise high upon this Bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable Laws of Friendship. Nor was there the least Probability that the Princess should outlive the King and Queen to recompense my Fidelity, by such Means as the Royal Prerogative furnishes. And as to the present Power the Princess had to enrich me, her Revenue was no such vast thing, as that I could propose to draw any mighty Matters from thence; and, besides, Sir *Benjamin Bathurst* had the Management of it; I had no Share in that Service.

I might add here, as a farther Proof of the Purity and Integrity of my Conduct, what I fancy you will easily believe: That on some Occasions I could, without losing my Mistress's Affection, have sacrificed her Cause, to make my Court to the Queen. But so detestable a Thought never entered
into

into my Soul ; nor did I ever by asking any Favour of the Queen, great or small, for my self or others, give her the least Ground to hope, she could have any Hold of me on the Side of my Interest.

Before the Princess returned an Answer to the Queen's Letter of Command to dismiss me, she sent to my Lord *Rocheſter*, shewed him the Answer she had prepared, and, with all the Earnestness that can be imagined, desired he would use his Interest to assist her, and that he would carry her Letter ; which last she could by no Means persuade him to do. He told her he would speak to the Queen, but could not give the Letter to her. So the Princess sent it by one of her own Servants. It contained these Words.

‘ Your Majesty was in the right to think
 ‘ your Letter would be very surprizing to
 ‘ me. For you must needs be sensible e-
 ‘ nough of the Kindness I have for my La-
 ‘ dy *Marlborough*, to know, that a Com-
 E mand

' mand from you to part with her must be
 ' the greatest Mortification in the World
 ' to me; and indeed of such a Nature, as
 ' I might well have hoped your Kindness
 ' to me would have always prevented. I
 ' am satisfied she cannot have been guilty
 ' of any Fault to you. And it would be
 ' extremely to her Advantage, if I could
 ' here repeat every Word that ever she had
 ' said to me of you in her whole Life. I
 ' confess, it is no small Addition to my
 ' Trouble to find the Want of your Ma-
 ' jesty's Kindness to me upon this Occasion;
 ' since I am sure I have always endeavour-
 ' ed to deserve it by all the Actions of my
 ' Life.

' Your Care of my present Condition is
 ' extremely obliging. And if you would
 ' be pleased to add to it so far, as upon
 ' my Account to recal your severe Com-
 ' mand (as I must beg Leave to call it in
 ' a Matter so tender to me, and so little
 ' reasonable, as I think, to be imposed up-
 ' on me, that you would scarce require it

' from the meanest of your Subjects) I should
 ' ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable
 ' Mark of your Kindness to me. And I
 ' must as freely own, that as I think this Pro-
 ' ceeding can be for no other Intent than to
 ' give me a very sensible Mortification, so
 ' there is no Misery that I cannot readily
 ' resolve to suffer, rather than the Thoughts
 ' of parting with her. If after all this that
 ' I have said, I must still find my self so
 ' unhappy as to be farther pressed in this
 ' Matter, yet your Majesty may be assur'd
 ' that, as my past Actions have given the
 ' greatest Testimony of my Respect both
 ' for the King and you, so it shall always
 ' be my Endeavour, wherever I am, to
 ' preserve it carefully for the time to come,
 ' as becomes

' *Your* MAJESTY'S

From the *Cockpit*,
Feb. 6th 1692.

' *very affectionate Sister*

' *and Servant,*

' ANNE.

To

To this the Princess received no Answer but a Message by my Lord Chamberlain *to forbid my continuing any longer at the Cock-pit.*

It was the Opinion of several People, that the King had no more Power to remove any Body out of that House, than out of any other Buildings on that side the Park, it having been bought of the Duke of *Leeds*, and settled at the Princess's Marriage in King *Charles's* Time on her, and her Heirs. But the Princess had resolved to do every thing respectful to the King and Queen, except yielding in that single Point of parting with me. And therefore instead of insisting on the Right, which she had in common with every other Subject, *of being Mistress in her own House*, she wrote to the Queen the following Letter.

‘ I am very sorry to find that all I have
 ‘ said my self, and my Lord *Rochester* for
 ‘ me, has not had effect enough to keep
 ‘ your Majesty from persisting in a Resolu-
 tion,

' tion, which you are satisfied must be so
 ' great a Mortification to me, as, to avoid
 ' it, I shall be obliged to retire, and de-
 ' prive my self of the Satisfaction of living
 ' where I might have frequent Opportuni-
 ' ties of assuring you of that Duty and Re-
 ' spect, which I always have been, and
 ' shall be desirous to pay you upon all Oc-
 ' casions.

' My only Consolation in this Extremity is,
 ' that not having done any Thing in all my
 ' Life, to deserve your Unkindness, I hope
 ' I shall not be long under the Necessity of
 ' absenting my self from you; the Thought
 ' of which is so uneasy to me, that I find
 ' my self too much indisposed to give your
 ' Majesty any farther Trouble at this
 ' Time.

February the 8th, 1692.

Though my Lord *Rocheſter* be mentioned
 in this Letter, as having employed his good
 Offices to prevail with the Queen to change
 her Determination, there is little Reason

to think that his Intercession could be very warm or urgent after the Refusal he made to carry the former Letter, though pressed to it by the most earnest Entreaties.

At the same Time, that the Princess resolved to leave the *Cockpit*, she sent to speak with the Dutchess of *Somerſet*, of whom she deſired to borrow *Sion* for ſome little Time. The Dutchess made her many Expreſſions, and very ſoon after, having ſpoke to the Duke of *Somerſet* of it, waited on her again, to acquaint her, in a very reſpectful Manner, that *Sion* was at her Service.

As ſoon as this was known, the King did all he could to diſſuade the Duke from letting the Princess have the Houſe; but his Grace had too much Greatneſs of Mind to go back from his Promiſe; ſo there was an End of that Matter.

Before the Princess removed from the *Cockpit*, ſhe waited upon her Maſteſty at
Kenſington,

Kensington, making all the Professions that could be imagined, to which the Queen was as insensible as a Statue. When she did answer her it was in the Stile of her Letter.

Soon after the Princess's going to *Sion*, a dreadful Plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a Flower-Pot; and my Lord *Marlborough* was sent to the Tower.

To commit a Peer to Prison it was necessary there should be an Affidavit from some Body of the Treason. My Lord *Romney* therefore, Secretary of State, had sent to one *Young*, who was then in Jail for Perjury and Forgery, and paid his Fine, in order to make him what they call a *Legal Evidence*. For as the Court-Lawyers said, *Young* not having lost his Ears, was an *Irreproachable Witness*. I shall not dwell on the Story of this Fellow's Villainy, the Bishop of *Rockester* having given a full Account of it in Print.

Whether my Lord *Marlborough's* Conspiracy with this *Young*, was what the Queen meant in her Letter to the Princess, where she speaks of *the Cause my Lord Marlborough had given the King to do what he had done, and of his Unwillingness to come to such Extremities, though People did deserve it*, I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what Cause the King assigned for his Displeasure. But it is natural to think he would give the best Reason he could for using in that Manner a Man, who had done so much for the Revolution. Every one knows, that my Lord *Marlborough* had considerable Employments under King *James*, and might have hoped to be as great a Favourite as any Body, could he have assisted in bringing about that unhappy Prince's Scheme of fixing Popery and arbitrary Power in *England*. It was highly improbable therefore, that he, who had done so much, and sacrificed so much for the Preservation of the Religion and Liberty of his Country, should on a sudden engage in a Conspiracy to destroy them. And though
these

these Considerations had no Weight with the King, they had so much with my Lord *Devonshire*, my Lord *Bradford*, and the late Duke of *Montagu*, that they thought it infamous to send my Lord *Marlborough* to Prison upon such Evidence ; and therefore when the Warrant for his Commitment came to be signed at the Council-table, they refused to put their Hands to it, though at that Time they had no particular Friendship for him. My Lord *Bradford's* Behaviour was very remarkable ; for he made my Lord *Marlborough* a Visit in the *Tower*, while some of our Friends, who had lived in our Family like near Relations for many Years, were so fearful of doing themselves Hurt at Court, that in the whole Time of his Confinement, they never made him or me a Visit, nor sent to enquire how we did, for Fear it should be known.

My Lord *Marlborough's* being sent to the *Tower* having obliged me to go and stay at *London* to attend the Affair of his Release, I there received, among many others,

others, in the same Stile of Tenderneſs, the following Letters from the Princeſs. I have tranſcribed theſe, to ſhew you her Goodneſs to me upon all Occaſions, and to give you a more lively Impreſſion of the Cruelty of the Queen's Command, that enjoined her Siſter to part with a Friend ſo dear to her Heart, merely to gratify the Royal Pride in a Point of Ceremony.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ Though I have nothing to ſay to my
 ‘ dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot help en-
 ‘ quiring how ſhe and her Lord does. If it
 ‘ be not convenient to you to write, when
 ‘ you receive this, either keep the Bearer
 ‘ till it is, or let me have a Word or two
 ‘ from you by the next Opportunity when it
 ‘ is eaſy to you; for I would not be a Con-
 ‘ ſtraint to you at any Time, much leſs
 ‘ now, when you have ſo many Things to
 ‘ do, and think of. All I deſire to hear
 ‘ from you at ſuch a Time as this, is, that
 ‘ you and your's are well. Which, next
 ‘ to having my Lord *Marlborough* out of
 ‘ his

‘ his Enemies Power, is the best News
 ‘ that can come to her, who, to the last
 ‘ Moment of her Life, will be dear Mrs.
 ‘ *Freeman's*.

Friday Night.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ I give dear Mrs. *Freeman* a thousand
 ‘ Thanks for her kind Letter, which gives
 ‘ me an Account of her Concerns; and
 ‘ that is what I desire more to know than
 ‘ any other News. I shall reckon the Days
 ‘ and Hours, and think the Time very
 ‘ long till the Term is out, for both your
 ‘ Sake and my Lord *Marlborough's*, that
 ‘ he may be at Liberty, and your Mind at
 ‘ Ease. You do not say any Thing of
 ‘ your Health, which makes me hope you
 ‘ are well, at least, not worse than when
 ‘ you were here. And, dear Mrs. *Free-*
 ‘ *man* don't say when I can see you, if I
 ‘ come to Town; therefore I ask what
 ‘ Day will be most convenient to you?
 ‘ For, though all Days are alike to me, I
 ‘ should be glad you would name one, be-
 ‘ cause

' cause I am to take some Physick, and
 ' would order that accordingly. I con-
 ' fess, I long to see you, but am not so
 ' unreasonable to desire that Satisfaction till
 ' it is easy to you. I wish with all my
 ' Soul, that you may not be a true Prophet-
 ' ess, and that it may be soon in our Power
 ' to enjoy one another's Company, more
 ' than it has been of late ; which is all I
 ' covet in this World.

To Lady Marlborough.

' I am sorry with all my Heart, dear
 ' Mrs. *Freeman* meets with so many De-
 ' lays; but it is a Comfort, they cannot
 ' keep Lord *Marlborough* in the *Tower*
 ' longer than the End of the Term; and,
 ' I hope, when the Parliament sits, Care
 ' will be taken that People may not be
 ' clapt up for nothing, or else there will be
 ' no living in Quiet for any Body, but in-
 ' solent *Dutch*, and sneaking mercenary
 ' *Englishmen*. Dear Mrs. *Freeman*, fare-
 ' wel ; be assured your faithful Mrs. *Mor-*
 ' *ley* can never change ; and, I hope, you
 ' do

' do not in the least doubt of her Kind-
 ' ness, which, if it be possible, encreases
 ' every Day, and that can never have an
 ' End but with her Life. Mrs. Morley
 ' hopes her dear Mrs. *Freeman* will let her
 ' have the Satisfaction of hearing from her
 ' again To-morrow.

Thursday.

To Lady Marlborough.

' Dear Mrs. *Freeman* may easily ima-
 ' gine, I cannot have much to say, since
 ' I saw her. However, I must write two
 ' Words. For though I believe she does
 ' not doubt of my Constancy, seeing how
 ' base and false all the World is, I am of
 ' that Temper, I think, I can never say
 ' enough to assure you of it. Therefore
 ' give me Leave to assure you they can ne-
 ' ver change me. And there is no Misery
 ' I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather
 ' than the Thought of parting from you.
 ' And I do swear, I would sooner be torn
 ' in Pieces, than alter this my Resolution.
 ' My

‘ My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I long to hear
‘ from you.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ My dear Mrs. *Freeman* was in so dif-
‘ mal a Way when she went from hence,
‘ that I cannot forbear asking, how she
‘ does, and if she has yet any Hopes of
‘ Lord *Marlborough*’s being soon at Liber-
‘ ty. For God’s Sake, have a Care of
‘ your dear Self, and give as little Way to
‘ melancholy Thoughts as you can. If I
‘ could be as often with you as those that
‘ have it in their Power, but not in their
‘ Will, you should seldom be alone, but
‘ though I have not that Satisfaction, as
‘ much as I desire, I assure you, my Heart is
‘ always with you; and if Wishes signified
‘ any Thing, you would have no uneasy
‘ Minute.

‘ Though I long of all Things to hear
‘ from my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I am not
‘ so unreasonable as to expect the Groom
‘ should come back To-night, if he comes
‘ to

‘ to you at an unseasonable Hour; there-
 ‘ fore keep him till it is easy to you to
 ‘ write. But I am in Hopes, I shall have
 ‘ a Word or two before I go to Bed; be-
 ‘ cause my dear Mrs. *Freeman* has promised
 ‘ I shall hear from you.

‘ I fancy Afs’s Milk would do you good,
 ‘ and that is what you might take Morn-
 ‘ ing or Afternoon, as it is most conve-
 ‘ nient.

‘ I had no sooner sealed my Letter, but
 ‘ I received my dear Mrs. *Freeman*’s, for
 ‘ which I give her a thousand Thanks, and
 ‘ am overjoyed at the good News you send
 ‘ me, which I hope will cure you of every
 ‘ Thing.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ I am in Pain to know how my dear
 ‘ Mrs. *Freeman* does, for she is not used to
 ‘ complain, nor to be let Blood for a little
 ‘ Thing; and therefore I cannot help en-
 ‘ quiring what is the Matter, and how she
 ‘ finds

' finds herself now? I can come either to
 ' *London* or *Camden-House* To-morrow or
 ' *Monday*, or any other Day. If you will
 ' let me know where and when, and what
 ' Time I may have the Satisfaction of see-
 ' ing you, your faithful *Morley* will be sure
 ' to meet you.

Your Lordship sees by these Letters of
 Tenderneſs how impoſſible it muſt have been
 for the Princeſs to comply with the Queen's
 Deſire, had it appeared leſs unreaſonable than
 it did. However, ſhe was very attentive not
 to be wanting in any Point of *due* Reſpect.
 Falling in Labour at *Sion*, ſhe ſent Sir *Ben-
 jamin Bathurſt* to preſent her humble Duty
 to the Queen, and acquaint her with it,
 and that ſhe was much worſe than ſhe uſed
 to be ; as ſhe really was. The Queen did
 not think fit to ſee the Meſſenger, nor to
 make any Answer.

Notwithſtanding this, when the Princeſs
 was brought to Bed of a Child, that died ſome
 Minutes after the Birth, ſhe ſent my Lady
Charlotte

Charlotte Beverwaert to inform her Majesty of what had happened. My Lady waited some considerable Time before the Queen saw her. The Reason of this was my Lord *Rochester's* not being present, when the Message came. After some Conversation with him, the Queen sent for my Lady *Charlotte*, and told her, *she would go that Afternoon and see the Princess at Sion*, and she was there very soon after the Notice arrived.

She came attended by the Ladies *Derby* and *Scarborough*. I am sure it will be necessary to have a good Voucher to persuade your Lordship of the Truth of what I am going to relate. The Princess herself told me, That the Queen never asked her how she did, nor expressed the least Concern for her Condition, nor so much as took her by the Hand. The Salutation was this: *I have made the first Step, by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing my Lady Marlborough*. The Princess answered, *That she had never in all her Life disobeyed her, except in that one*

Particular, which she hoped would, some Time or other, appear as unreasonable to her Majesty, as it did to her. Upon which the Queen rose up and went away, repeating to the Prince, as he led her to the Coach, the same Thing she had said to the Princess.

My Lady *Derby* did not come to the Bed-side, nor make the least Enquiry after her Health, though the Princess had recommended her, for Groom of the Stole, to the Queen, on her Accession to the Crown. Lady *Scarborough* indeed behaved herself as became her on that Occasion, and afterwards asked the Queen's Leave to visit me, because we had been old Acquaintance; which was granted.

I have heard that the Queen, when she came home, was pleased to say, *She was sorry she had spoke to the Princess; who, she confessed, had so much Concern upon her at renewing the Affair, that she trembled and looked as white as the Sheets.* But if

her Majesty was really touched with Compassion, it is plain, by what followed, that she overcame herself extremely. For presently after this Visit, all Company was forbid waiting on the Princess; and her Guards were taken away.

I do not see how the most zealous Advocates for the Queen can vindicate her in these Proceedings to an only Sister, nor how a Man of that mighty Understanding, my Lord *Rochester* was said to have, could think, that a Visit (which the Queen made to every Countess) was so extraordinary a Grace to a Sister, that it should oblige her to do, what she had retired from the Court to avoid.

I must observe to your Lordship, that the King was not in *England*, when this last Thing happened. My Lord *Rochester* was the Queen's Oracle; and whether he had any Share or not in beginning the ill Usage of the Princess, he was without question the Prosecutor of it.

I fancy, you have been wishing, during all this Story, that I had made some Proposal to the Princess, to free her from the Trouble she was in, and to save her from such Indignities, as surely have seldom, if ever, been offered to the presumptive Heir of a Crown. When you have read some Letters I had from her on the Occasion, I believe you will be satisfied I did my Part. I assure you, that from the very Beginning of the Difference, it was my earnest Request to her to let me go from her; for though, had I been in her Place, I would not have complied with the Queen's Demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the Princess, without employing every Argument my Thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any Thing that looked that Way, she fell into the greatest Passion of Tenderness and Weeping that is possible to imagine. And though my Situation, at that Time, was so disagreeable to my Temper, that, could I have known how long it was to last, I could have chosen
to

to go to the *Indies* sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a thousand Deaths, I think I ought to have submitted, rather than have gone from her against her Will.

As soon as the Princess was recovered from a Fever, which followed the Indisposition of her Lying-in, (and which, I believe, was, in great Measure, caused by her Trouble) she began to think she should be found Fault with, if she did not express her Thankfulness for the great Honour the Queen had done her. Whereupon she sent to Doctor *Stillingfleet*, Bishop of *Worcester*, to come to see her, intending to write to the Queen by him, and to make Use of his Credit to soften her. On this Occasion, I had from her the two following Letters.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ I had last Night a very civil Answer
 ‘ from the Bishop of *Worcester*, whom I
 ‘ sent to speak with, but have heard no-
 ‘ thing more of him since, so I dare not

' venture to go to *London* To-day, for
 ' Fear of missing him. If he comes in any
 ' Time To-morrow, I will not fail of be-
 ' ing with my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, about
 ' five or six o'Clock, unless you are to go
 ' to the *Tower*. And if you do, pray be
 ' so kind as to let me know Time enough
 ' to stop my Journey. For I would not
 ' go to *London*, and miss the Satisfaction of
 ' seeing you. I could not forbear writing,
 ' though I had nothing more to say, but
 ' that it is impossible ever to express the
 ' Kindness I have for dear Mrs. *Freeman*.

To Lady Marlborough.

' Sir *Benjamin* telling me you were not
 ' come to Town at three o'Clock, makes
 ' me in Pain to know how your Son does,
 ' and I can't help enquiring after him and
 ' dear Mrs. *Freeman*. The Bishop of *Wor-*
 ' *cester* was with me this Morning before
 ' I was dress'd. I gave him my Letter
 ' to the Queen, and he has promised to
 ' second it, and seemed to undertake it
 ' very willingly: Though by all the Dis-
 ' course

‘ course I had with him, (of which I will
 ‘ give you a particular Account when I see
 ‘ you) I find him very partial to her. The
 ‘ last Time he was here, I told him you
 ‘ had several Times desired you might go
 ‘ from me, and I have repeated the same
 ‘ Thing again to him. For you may ea-
 ‘ sily imagine, I would not neglect doing
 ‘ you Right upon all Occasions. But I beg
 ‘ it again for CHRIST JESUS’s Sake, that
 ‘ you would never name it any more to
 ‘ me. For be assured, if you should ever
 ‘ do so cruel a Thing as to leave me, from
 ‘ that Moment I shall never enjoy one quiet
 ‘ Hour. And should you do it without ask-
 ‘ ing my Consent (which if I ever give you,
 ‘ may I never see the Face of Heaven) I
 ‘ will shut myself up, and never see the
 ‘ World more, but live where I may be
 ‘ forgotten by human Kind.

The Letter which the Princess sent to
 the Queen by the Bishop of *Wor-*
cester was in these Terms.

Sion, the 20th of *May*.

‘ I have now, God be thank’d, recover’d
 ‘ my Strength well enough to go abroad.
 ‘ And though my Duty and Inclination
 ‘ would both lead me to wait upon your
 ‘ Majesty, as soon as I am able to do it,
 ‘ yet I have of late had the Misfortune of
 ‘ being so much under your Majesty’s
 ‘ Displeasure, as to apprehend, there may
 ‘ be hard Constructions made upon any
 ‘ Thing I either do, or not do, with the
 ‘ most respectful Intentions. And I am in
 ‘ doubt whether the same Arguments, that
 ‘ have prevailed with your Majesty to for-
 ‘ bid People from shewing their usual Re-
 ‘ spects to me, may not be carried so much
 ‘ farther, as not to permit me to pay my
 ‘ Duty to you. That, I acknowledge,
 ‘ would be a great Encrease of Affliction to
 ‘ me ; and nothing but your Majesty’s own
 ‘ Command shall ever willingly make me
 ‘ submit to it. For, whatever Reason I
 ‘ may think in my own Mind I have to
 ‘ complain of being hardly used, yet I will
 ‘ strive to hide it, as much as possible. And
 though

‘ though I will not pretend to live at the
 ‘ *Cock-pit*, unless you would be so kind
 ‘ as to make it easy to me, yet wherever
 ‘ I am, I will endeavour always to give
 ‘ the constant Marks of Duty and Respect,
 ‘ which I have in my Heart for your
 ‘ Majesty, as becomes

Your Majesty's

very affectionate Sister,

and Servant,

ANNE.

To this the Queen return'd the follow-
 ing Answer.

To the PRINCESS.

‘ I have received your's by the Bishop of
 ‘ *Worcester*, and have very little to say to
 ‘ it; since you cannot but know, that as I
 ‘ never used Compliments, so now they
 ‘ will not serve.

'Tis

' 'Tis none of my Fault, we live at this
 ' Distance, and I have endeavoured to shew
 ' my Willingness to do otherwise. And I
 ' will do no more. Don't give yourself
 ' any unnecessary Trouble: For be assured
 ' it is not words can make us live together
 ' as we ought. You know what I required
 ' of you. And I now tell you, if you
 ' doubted it before, that I cannot change
 ' my Mind, but expect to be complied
 ' with, or you must not wonder if I doubt
 ' of your Kindness. You can give me no
 ' other Marks, that will satisfy me. Nor
 ' can I put any other Construction upon
 ' your Actions than what all the World
 ' must do, that sees them. These Things
 ' don't hinder me being very glad to hear
 ' you are so well, and wishing you may
 ' continue so; and that you may yet,
 ' while 'tis in your Power, oblige me to be
 ' your affectionate Sister

MARIE R.

What Sentiments the Princess had on re-
 ceiving this harsh, peremptory Declaration
 from

from the Queen, you will see by her Letter to me on that Occasion.

The Princess to Lady Marlborough.

‘ I am very sensibly touched with the
 ‘ Misfortune that my dear Mrs. *Freeman*
 ‘ has had of losing her Son, knowing very
 ‘ well, what it is to lose a Child: But she
 ‘ knowing my Heart so well, and how
 ‘ great a Share I bear in all her Concerns,
 ‘ I will not say any more on this Subject,
 ‘ for fear of renewing her Passion too much.

‘ Being now at Liberty to go where I
 ‘ please, by the Queen’s refusing to see me,
 ‘ I am mightily inclined to go To-morrow,
 ‘ after Dinner, to the *Cockpit*, and from
 ‘ thence privately in a Chair to see you,
 ‘ some Time next Week. I believe it will
 ‘ be Time for me to go to *London* to make
 ‘ an End of that Business of *Berkeley House*.

‘ The Bishop brought me the Queen’s
 ‘ Letter early this Morning, and by that
 ‘ little he said, he did not seem so well sa-
 ‘ tisfied

' tisfied with her, as he was Yesterday.
 ' He has promised to bear me Witness,
 ' that I have made all the Advances, that
 ' were reasonable. And I confess, I think,
 ' the more it is told about, that I would
 ' have waited on the Queen, but that she
 ' refused seeing me, it is the better: And
 ' therefore I will not scruple saying it to
 ' any body, when it comes in my Way.

' There were some in the Family, as
 ' soon as the News came this Morning of
 ' our Fleet's beating the French, that ad-
 ' vised the Prince to go in the Afternoon
 ' to compliment the Queen. And another
 ' asked me, if I would not send her one?
 ' But we neither of us thought there was
 ' any Necessity of it then, and much less
 ' since I received this arbitrary Letter. I
 ' don't send you the Original for fear any
 ' Accident may happen to the Bearer: For
 ' I love to keep such Letters by me for my
 ' own Justification. Sure never any Body
 ' was used so by a Sister! But I thank God
 ' I have nothing to reproach my self with-
 ' al

‘ al in this Business, but the more I think
 ‘ of all that has passed, the better I am
 ‘ satisfied. And if I had done otherwise, I
 ‘ should have deserved to have been the Scorn
 ‘ of the World, and to be trampled upon
 ‘ as much as my Enemies would have me.

‘ Dear Mrs. *Freeman* farewell. I hope
 ‘ in CHRIST you will never think more of
 ‘ leaving me, for I would be sacrificed to
 ‘ do you the least Service, and nothing but
 ‘ Death can ever make me part with you.
 ‘ For if it be possible I am every Day more
 ‘ and more yours.

‘ I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr.
 ‘ *Maul* and Lady *Fitzbarding* that
 ‘ advised the Prince and me to make
 ‘ our Compliments to the Queen.

As your Lordship has here read the Prin-
 cess's final Resolution, you may now perhaps
 be curious to know, what were the Prince
 of *Denmark's* Dispositions, in relation to this
 Affair. Some Parts of the following Letters

will satisfy you *in this Point*, as the rest will confirm what has been said of my desiring to leave the Princess; the ill Treatment she had met with, in this Reign, from the beginning; and the Obligations she thought her self under to Lord *Marlborough* and me for our Fidelity and diligent Services to her.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ I really long to know how my dear
 ‘ Mrs. *Freeman* got home; and now I have
 ‘ this Opportunity of writing, she must give
 ‘ me leave to tell her, if she should ever
 ‘ be so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. *Mor-*
 ‘ *ley*, she will rob her of all the Joy and
 ‘ Quiet of her Life; for if that Day should
 ‘ come, I could never enjoy a happy Minute,
 ‘ and I swear to you I would shut my self up
 ‘ and never see a Creature. You may ea-
 ‘ sily see all this would have come upon
 ‘ me, if you had not been. If you do
 ‘ but remember what the Q. said to me
 ‘ the Night before your Lord was turned
 ‘ out of all; then she began to pick Quar-
 ‘ rels ;

' rels ; and if they should take off twenty
 ' or thirty thousand Pound, have I not
 ' lived upon as little before? When I was
 ' first married we had but twenty (it is
 ' true indeed the King was so kind to pay
 ' my Debts) and if it should come to that
 ' again, what Retrenchment is there, in
 ' my Family, I would not willingly make,
 ' and be glad of that Pretence to do it: Ne-
 ' ver fancy, dear Mrs. *Freeman*, if what
 ' you fear should happen, that you are the
 ' Occasion; no I am very well satisfied,
 ' *and so is the Prince too*, it would have
 ' been so however, for is ca-
 ' pable of doing nothing but Injustice;
 ' therefore rest satisfied, you are no Ways
 ' the Cause; and let me beg once more, for
 ' God's sake, that you would never men-
 ' tion parting more, no nor so much as
 ' think of it; and if you should ever leave
 ' me, be assured it would break your faith-
 ' ful Mrs. *Morley's* Heart.

Friday Morning.

' I hope my dear Mrs. *Freeman* will
 ' come

‘ come as soon as she can, this Afternoon, that
 ‘ we may have as much Time together as
 ‘ we can; I doubt you will think me very
 ‘ unreasonable for saying this, but I really
 ‘ long now to see you again, as much as if
 ‘ I had not been so happy this Month.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ In Obedience to dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I
 ‘ have told the Prince all she desired me,
 ‘ and he is so far from being of another
 ‘ Opinion, if there had been Occasion he
 ‘ would have strengthened me in my Resolu-
 ‘ tions, and we both beg you would never
 ‘ mention so cruel a thing any more. Can
 ‘ you think either of us so wretched that
 ‘ for the sake of twenty thousand Pound,
 ‘ and to be tormented from Morning to
 ‘ Night with flattering Knaves and Fools,
 ‘ we should forsake those, we have such
 ‘ Obligations to, and that we are so cer-
 ‘ tain we are the Occasion of all their Mis-
 ‘ fortunes? Besides, can you believe we
 ‘ will truckle to who from the
 ‘ first Moment of his coming has used us
 ‘ at

' at that Rate, as we are sensible he has
 ' done, and that all the World can witness,
 ' that will not let their Interest weigh more
 ' with them, than their Reason. But sup-
 ' pose I did submit, and that the King
 ' could change his Nature so much, as to
 ' use me with Humanity, how would all
 ' reasonable People despise me? How would
 ' laugh at me and please him-
 ' self with having got the better? And which
 ' is much more, how would my Conscience
 ' reproach me for having sacrificed it, my
 ' Honour, Reputation, and all the substan-
 ' tial Comforts of this Life for transitory
 ' Interest, which, even to those who make
 ' it their Idol, can never afford any real sa-
 ' tisfaction, much less to a virtuous Mind?
 ' No, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, never be-
 ' lieve your faithful Mrs. *Morley* will ever
 ' submit. She can wait with Patience for
 ' a Sun-shine Day, and if she does not live
 ' to see it, yet she hopes *England* will flou-
 ' rish again. Once more give me leave to
 ' beg you would be so kind never to speak
 ' of parting more, for let what will hap-
 ' pen,

G

‘ pen, that is the only Thing can make
 ‘ me miserable.

Tuesday Morning.

His Royal Highness continued steady in his Opinion to the last, notwithstanding that almost all the Servants in the Family, and especially those whom I had brought into it, were frequently pressing him to have me removed. My Lord *Berkeley* indeed, though I believe he did not know, that he was obliged to me for his Employment of Groom of the Stole, said something very handsom to the Prince, (as the Princess told me) to strengthen him in the contrary Resolution. But my Lord *Lexington*, who was not so ignorant of the Service I had done him, made the first return for it, by speaking to the Prince *to put her out, who had put him in.*

But of all that happened to me of this Kind, nothing surpris'd me so much, as the Behaviour of Mr. *Maul*. I had not only brought him to be Bed-chamber Man to the Prince,

Prince,

Prince, when he was quite a Stranger to that Court, but, to mend his Salary, had invented an Employment for him, That of overlooking the Princess's Accounts: And I had done this without having been asked to do it. I had indeed a great Value for him, and thought him so worthy a Man, and so much my Friend, that I might safely have trusted to his Care my most important Concerns. But you will see how extremely I was mistaken. This Man never came near me, during that Time of Trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at *Sion*, avoided as much as he could, even to make me a Bow; apprehending I believe, that I should ask him to be Lord *Marlborough's* Bail: Not that I then guess'd this to be his Reason; but I thought so afterwards; because, notwithstanding his strange Coldness, even to Rudeness, as soon as it was known that Lord *Shrewsbury*, Lord *Burlington*, Lord *Carbury*, and Lord *Halifax* were to be Bail for my Lord *Marlborough*, he came to see me, and offered himself for that Service, making as if he

knew nothing of what was so publick. I thanked him, and told him, Lord *Marlborough* had Friends, who would bail him, but that one of his best Friends, was a Paper that lay upon the Table, which I had often kiss'd, *The Act of Habeas Corpus.*

But this was not the greatest Proof I had of Mr. *Maul's* Ingratitude. He was one of those, who were most urgent with the Prince, that he would prevail with the Princess to put me away. For this End he took more Pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very foolish Thing he said to his Royal Highness, and what one would not have expected from a Man that kept good Company. The Prince one day, after being much pressed by him, on my Subject, answered, *That he had so much Tenderness for the Princess, that he could not desire to make her so uneasy, as he knew the parting with me would do. And besides, he had done a great deal, and had been very ill used.* To which Mr. *Maul* replied, *That it was true his Highness had*

had done a great deal; but if he refused this Thing, it was like a Cow, that gave a great deal of Milk, and then kicked it down.

Very soon after this eloquent, but unsuccessful Pleading of Mr. *Maul* (who had certainly been employed by my Lord *Rochester*) a Letter came to the Princess, from his Lordship, on Occasion of the Queen's having forbid People to go to her.

The Contents of it were these.

MADAM,

‘ I am afraid, I may be guilty of too
 ‘ great Presumption in giving your Royal
 ‘ Highness the Trouble of a Letter; but I
 ‘ do it with so good Intentions, that I hope
 ‘ you cannot be angry with me for it.
 ‘ And now that one is unhappily restrain-
 ‘ ed from the Honour of waiting upon your
 ‘ Royal Highness, there is no other way
 ‘ but this to make an Offer of my humble
 ‘ Duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable
 ‘ Reflection for me to make, that being so
 ‘ really

' really concerned, as I am sure I am, for
 ' your Royal Highness's Happiness, I
 ' should be so unfortunate as to be wholly
 ' useless to you, at a Time, when your
 ' Royal Highness cannot but think your-
 ' self, that you have Use of every Bo-
 ' dy, that are truly and faithfully your
 ' Servants. And however I have been so
 ' mistaken in my Judgment, as to have ne-
 ' ver offered any Thing to your Royal
 ' Highness, worth your Approbation, I do,
 ' with all Humility, submit my poor O-
 ' pinion to that of your Royal Highness;
 ' but beg you to believe, it is not Flattery
 ' to any Body else, nor any other Consi-
 ' deration that has made me be of the
 ' Mind I was; but only the want of
 ' a better Understanding, to be able to
 ' think of something more for your Service.
 ' And being thus incapable of my self to
 ' propose any thing that is agreeable to you,
 ' I take this Occasion humbly to offer to
 ' your Royal Highness all the little Service
 ' you may judge me fit to be employed in,
 ' and most earnestly to beseech you to be-
 ' lieve,

' lieve, that if I can be of any Use in the
 ' World to your Royal Highness, there is
 ' nothing that I would endeavour with
 ' greater Satisfaction to my self, than at
 ' this Time to express the great Concern,
 ' I presume to say I have, for your Royal
 ' Highness, by any thing that I can do for
 ' your Service. And if any thing I have
 ' taken the Confidence to say be worth
 ' your taking notice of, the least Significa-
 ' tion of your Pleasure will bring me at
 ' all Times to receive the Honour of any
 ' of your Commands; and the Duty and
 ' Zeal and Passion, I have for your true
 ' Interest and Prosperity, will, I hope,
 ' make some Amends for the Want of a
 ' better Judgment and Capacity, which I
 ' acknowledge every Body has a greater
 ' Share of than,

MADAM,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S

most obedient and

most dutiful Servant,

ROCHESTER.

I cannot help thinking, that there is something very absurd in the *affected Modesty* and *profound Respectfulness* of this Letter; where his Lordship owns, that every Body has more Judgment and Capacity than he, and, with all Humility, submits his poor Opinion to that of her Royal Highness, and, at the same Time, lets her know, that this *poor Opinion*, which he so *submits*, shall entirely *govern* him in his Behaviour towards her. And the perfect self Approbation he discovers, after lamenting the Mistake of his Judgment, is no less ridiculous. For he plainly intimates some Expectation, that she will send for him again, and confess the Wisdom of the senseless Advice he had given her. I make no scruple to call his Lordship's Advice *senseless*. For how unworthy soever he might think me of the extraordinary Affection the Princess had for me, he could not hope (unless he were really the Simpleton he says he is) that what had lately happened would be a Means to cure her of it in any Degree; and he must know, that while she retained that Affection,

Affection, she could not part with me, without *extreme Unhappiness* to herself. And what had he to propose, as a Compensation to her for this Unhappiness? Not the *inward Satisfaction*, nor the *outward Glory* of having obeyed any Law of God or of the Land, by removing me from her; but only the *empty Advantage* of putting an End to their Majesties *open Displeasure* with her; a Displeasure, which did her no real Hurt, and which, being so occasioned as it was, gained her Credit with every Mortal that had a Heart.

The Princess was not imposed upon by his Lordship's *Duty* or *Zeal* or *Passion*, for her Prosperity. She sent him the following Answer to his Letter.

To the Earl of Rochester.

‘ I give you many Thanks for the Com-
 ‘ pliments and Expressions of Service which
 ‘ you make me, in your Letter; which I
 ‘ should be much better pleas’d with,
 ‘ than

‘ than I am, if I had any Reason to think
 ‘ them sincere.

‘ It is a great Mortification to me, to
 ‘ find, that I still continue under the Mis-
 ‘ fortune of the Queen’s Displeasure. I
 ‘ had Hopes, in Time, the Occasion of it
 ‘ would have appeared as little reasonable
 ‘ to the Queen, as it has always done to
 ‘ me. And if you would have perswaded
 ‘ me of the Sincerity of your Intentions,
 ‘ as you seem to desire, you must give me
 ‘ leave to say, I cannot think it very hard
 ‘ for you to convince me of it, by the Ef-
 ‘ fects. And till then I must beg Leave
 ‘ to be excused, if I am apt to think, this
 ‘ great Mortification, which has been given
 ‘ me, cannot have proceeded from the
 ‘ Queen’s own Temper, who, I am per-
 ‘ suaded, is both more just in herself, than
 ‘ that comes to, as well as more kind to

‘ *Your very affectionate Friend*

ANNE.

ARD

And now the Business of his Lordship was to make the Queen's Order be complied with. He took great Pains in it himself; and all the Ladies of the Bed-chamber were employed either to speak or write to their Relations and Acquaintance. And this Matter was so well followed, that, at last, the Queen herself sent to my Lady Grace Pierpoint, *to desire that she would not go to the Princess; adding, that if she did, she should not come to her, for she would see no body that went to her Sister.* My Lady Grace's Answer was, *That she thought she owed a Respect to the Princess; that she had been civilly treated by her; and that if her Majesty would not allow her to pay her Duty to her, she would go no more to the Queen, and the oftner to the Princess.*

But this generous Example of refusing meanly to submit to an unreasonable Order, was followed by very few, except those whom my Lord Marlborough and I engaged to pay the Princess all the Respect possible. Two or three Jacobite Ladies also came to her, because

because (as it was easy to observe) all of that Interest rejoiced much at the Quarrel.

My Lady *Thanet* was one of the first, who, like my Lord *Rocheſter* (and I conclude, not without his Advice) made her excuse to the Princess by Letter. I cannot now find it; but you may guess at the Contents of it by the Princess's Answer, which was this,

To the Dowager Countess of Thanet.

‘ It is no small Addition to my Unhappiness in the Queen’s Displeasure, that I
 ‘ am deprived, by it, of the Satisfaction of
 ‘ seeing my Friends; especially of such as
 ‘ seem desirous to see me, and to find by
 ‘ those late Commands, which her Majesty has given you, that her Unkindness
 ‘ to me is to have no End. The only
 ‘ Comfort I have in these great Hardships,
 ‘ is, to think, how little I have deserved
 ‘ them from the Queen. And that Thought,
 ‘ I hope, will help me to support them
 ‘ with less Impatience.

‘ I am

‘ I am the less surpris’d at the Strictness
 ‘ of the Queen’s Command to you, upon
 ‘ this Occasion, since I have found she can
 ‘ be so very unkind to, &c.

It was almost a Year after this, and when it was of very little Use, before Lady *Thanet* first, and then Lady *Hyde*, came to wait on the Princess. And their Visits afterwards were very rare, and only upon extraordinary Occasions, as a Lying-in, or some great Illness.

I have already mentioned, beside this Prohibition to visit the Princess, the taking away of her Guards. And these were not the only Methods devised to mortify her. One very ridiculous Thing was done with this View, while the Princess was at *Bath*. The following Letter, signed by the Earl of *Nottingham*, Secretary of State, was dispatched to the Mayor of the Town, a Tallow-Chandler.

S I R,

‘ The Queen has been informed that
 ‘ yourself and your Brethren have attended
 ‘ the Princess with the same Respect and
 ‘ Ceremony, as have been usually pay’d
 ‘ to the Royal Family. Perhaps you may
 ‘ not have heard what Occasion her Majesty
 ‘ has had to be displeased with the Princess.
 ‘ And therefore I am commanded to ac-
 ‘ quaint you, that you are not for the fu-
 ‘ ture to pay her Highness any such Respect
 ‘ or Ceremony, without Leave from her
 ‘ Majesty, who does not doubt of receiv-
 ‘ ing from you, and your Brethren, this
 ‘ publick Mark of your Duty. I am

Your most humble Servant,

NOTTINGHAM.

The King being abroad when this Let-
 ter was writ, and the Queen being at that
 Time wholly in my Lord *Rocheſter*’s Hands,
 every Body concluded, that it was done
 by his Advice. And I am myſelf the more
 fully perſuaded of it, from the Fondneſs

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he

he discovered for such Sort of Pageantry, when (in the Beginning of Queen *Anne's* Reign) he made his Progress, in those Parts, and took Pains in begging Treats, and Speeches, from such Sort of People. But it must be owned, that his Lordship had a singular Taste for trifling Ceremonies. I remember, when he was Treasurer, he made his white Staff be carried by his Chair-side, by a Servant bare-headed; in this, among other Things, so very unlike his Successor, my Lord *Godolphin*, who cut his white Staff shorter than ordinary, that he might hide it, by taking it into the Chair with him.

But if my Lord *Rocheſter* believed, as I am persuaded he did, that this Order to the Mayor of *Bath*, would have great Weight with the Princess, you will see by a short Letter from her to me, on the Occasion, how much he was disappointed.

To Lady Marlborough.

‘ Dear Mrs. *Freeman* must give me
 ‘ Leave to ask her, if any Thing has hap-
 ‘ pened to make her uneasy. I thought
 ‘ she looked to Night, as if she had the
 ‘ Spleen. And I can’t help being in Pain
 ‘ whenever I see her so.

‘ I fancied Yesterday, when the Mayor
 ‘ failed in the Ceremony of going to
 ‘ Church with me, that he was command-
 ‘ ed not to do it. I think ’tis a Thing to
 ‘ be laughed at. And, if they imagine
 ‘ either to vex me or gain upon me by such
 ‘ Sort of Usage, they will be mightily dis-
 ‘ appointed. And I hope these foolish
 ‘ Things they do, will every Day show
 ‘ People more and more, what they are,
 ‘ and that they truly deserve the Name
 ‘ your faithful *Morley* has given them.’

Another foolish Thing, that was done
 by the same Advice, as I suppose, was
 sending to the Minister of St. *James’s*
 Church,

Church, where the Princess used to go (while she lived at *Berkeley House*) to forbid him to lay the Text upon her Cushion, or take any more Notice of her than of other People. But the Minister refusing to obey without some Order from the Crown in Writing, which they did not care to give, that noble Design dropt.

After all these notable Efforts to subdue the Princess had been employed without Success, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a settled, quiet Way, at *Berkeley House*, my Lord *Rockester* attempted once more to bring about his Purpose, by a Stratagem. He came to Sir *Benjamin Bathurst*, and to others of the Princess's Family, insinuating to them, *that if the Princess would put me away, he was persuaded, the Queen would in some Time be prevailed upon to let her take me again* ; which was altogether improbable, and indeed ridiculous ; because my only pretended Fault was being my Lord *Marlborough's* Wife, a Fault which

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I could

I could neither excuse, nor extenuate, nor repent of.

The Princess considered this Project as nothing more than a new *civil Plot* of my Lord *Rochester's*. However she was resolved to leave nothing undone on her Part; and therefore, knowing that my Lady *Fitzharding* could speak more freely to the Queen than any Body else, whom she could employ, she sent for her and repeated to her my Lord *Rochester's* Proposal, desiring herto acquaint the Queen, *that from what his Lordship had said, she had been flattering herself, she had mistaken her Majesty's last Words; and that if she might hope his Lordship had any Ground for his Opinion, she should be very ready to give her Majesty any Satisfaction of that Sort.* Upon the Delivery of this Message, the Queen fell into a great Passion, and said, *her Sister had not mistaken her, for she never would see her, upon any other Terms, than parting with me, not for a Time, but for ever,* adding, *that she was a Queen and would*

be obeyed. Which fine Sentence, my Lady *Fitzbarding* confessed, the Queen repeated several Times in their Conversation; and her Ladyship seemed to find great Fault with the Queen's Manner of speaking upon that Occasion; though excepting this Time, my Lady appeared to be a very good Courtier.

The Princess, after this, continued at *Berkeley-House* in a very quiet Way. For there was nothing more to be done, unless they would stop her Revenue, which doubtless they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But my Lord *Gedolphin* was then first Commissioner of the Treasury, a Man esteemed very useful to the Service, and who, they knew, would quit upon any such Orders. And they could not easily have found a Person with Qualities fit for that Employment, who would have thought it consistent with Honour or Safety to take a Place, which another had left upon such an Account; and at the same Time refuse paying the Reve-

nue settled by an Act of Parliament on the next Heir to the Crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any Moment relating to this Disagreement, till just before the Queen's Death.

I shall only observe, that notwithstanding all the harsh Things done to the Prince and Princess, they never failed in the least Thing, which their Friends thought proper for them to do, to show Respect to the King and Queen.

Particularly, on the King's Return from *Flanders*, the Prince sent one of his Family to present *his humble Duty to his Majesty*, and to acquaint him, *That the Princess having had the Misfortune, during his Absence, to receive many publick Marks of the Queen's Displeasure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to his Majesty, as formerly, without endeavouring first to receive his Majesty's Commands,*

mands, and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.

The Duke of *Gloucester* also waited several Times on her Majesty, who made a great Show of Kindness to *him*, and gave him Rattles, and several Play-things, which were constantly put down in the *Gazette*. And whenever the Duke was sick, she sent a Bed-chamber Woman to *Campden-House* to enquire how he did. But this Compliment was made in so offensive a Manner to the Princess, that I have often wondered how any Mortal could bear it with the Patience she did. For whoever was sent, used to come without any Ceremony into the Room, where the Princess herself was, and, passing by her, as she stood or sat, without taking more Notice of her, than if she were a Rocker, go directly up to the Duke, and make their Speech to him, or to the Nurse, as he lay in her Lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of Insolence and Ill-breeding in this Behaviour ; and that the Queen might, with Safety to all her Dignity, have found Means to satisfy herself about the Duke of *Gloucester's* Health, without suffering to be done to the Princess, what no Body before ever thought of, and what no private Person in this Country would bear from another. And yet the Return, which the Princess, when she came to the Crown, made to this Rudeness of the Queen's Women, was to give them Pensions ; a Thing which the King himself grew weary of doing some time before he died.

For several Months before Queen *Mary* fell sick of the Small-Pox, the Princess, thinking herself with Child, staid constantly on one Floor, by her Physicians Advice, lying very much upon a Couch to prevent the Misfortune of miscarrying. However, upon the News of the Queen's dangerous

Indis-

Indisposition, she sent a Lady of her Bed-chamber to present her humble Duty to her, and to desire *that her Majesty would believe she was extremely concerned for her Illness: adding, that if her Majesty would allow her the Happiness of waiting on her, she would, notwithstanding the Condition she was in, run any Hazard for that Satisfaction.*

This Message was delivered to Lady Derby, who, having carried it in to her Majesty, came out again some Time after, and said, *That the King would send an Answer the next Day.* And accordingly my Lady Derby then wrote to the same Lady, who had brought the Message, the following Lines.

MADAM,

‘ I am commanded by the King and
 ‘ Queen to tell you, they desire you would
 ‘ let the Princess know they both thank her

H 4

‘ for

‘ for sending and desiring to come : But, it
 ‘ being thought so necessary to keep the
 ‘ Queen as quiet as possible, hope she will
 ‘ defer it. I am,

MADAM,

Your LADYSHIP’S

most humble Servant,

E. DERBY.

‘ Pray, Madam, present my humble
 ‘ Duty to the Princess.

This civil Answer, and my Lady *Derby*’s
 Postscript, made me conclude, more than if
 the College of Physicians had told it me,
 that the Disease was mortal. And as I
 knew that several People, and even one of
 the Princess’s own Family, were allowed to
 see the Queen, I was also fully persuaded,
 I that

that the deferring the Princess's coming was only to leave Room for continuing the Quarrel, in case the Queen should chance to recover, or for Reconciliation with the King, (if that should be thought convenient) in case of the Queen's Death.

During all the Time of the Queen's Illness to her Decease, the Princess sent every Day to enquire how she did; and once, I am sure, her Majesty heard of it; because my Lady *Fitzharding*, who was charged with the Message, and who had more Desire than ordinary to see the Queen, broke in, whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to express in how much Concern the Princess was: To which the Queen returned no Answer but a cold Thanks. Nor, though she received the Sacrament in her Illness, did she ever send the least Message to the Princess, except that in my Lady *Derby's* Letter, which perhaps her Majesty knew nothing of.

How

How this Conduct to a Sister could suit with the Character of a devout Queen, I am at a Loss to know. For there is nothing more plain in Scripture, than the vth Chapter of St. Matthew, & 23, and 24. *Therefore if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee, leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way; firſt be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.*

I will ſuppoſe, for Argument Sake, (though I think it ſcarce poſſible) that the Queen might have ſo wrong an Underſtanding, as to think, ſhe had no Reparation to make, and that the Princeſs had injured her, in not being her Slave : Yet, even in that Caſe, there was ſomething omitted ; for we are taught *to forgive the Treſpaſſes againſt us, as we expect to be forgiven.*

Upon

Upon the Death of the Queen, the Princess, by Advice of my Lord *Sunderland* and others, wrote the following Letter to the King.

S I R,

‘ I beg your Majesty’s favourable Acceptance of my sincere and hearty Sorrow for your great Affliction in the Loss of the Queen. And I do assure your Majesty, I am as sensibly touched with this sad Misfortune, as if I had never been so unhappy, as to have fallen into her Displeasure.

‘ It is my earnest Desire, your Majesty would give me Leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without Inconvenience to you, and without Danger of increasing your Affliction, that I may have an Opportunity myself, not only of repeating this, but of assuring your Majesty of my real Intentions to omit no
‘ Occasion

‘ Occasion of giving you constant Proofs of
 ‘ my sincere Respect and Concern for your
 ‘ Person and Interest, as becomes,

S I R,

Your MAJESTY’S

most Affectionate Sister,

and Servant,

ANNE.

The King had sense enough to know,
 that it would be impossible to continue any
 longer an open Difference with the Prin-
 cess, without exposing himself to daily
 Slights, and a manifest Disregard for his
 Sovereign Pleasure ; for he could not hope
 that the Nobility of *England* would be hin-
 dered, now the Queen was dead, from
 paying Respect to a Princess, who was next
 Heir to him by Act of Parliament, and who,
 if

if Title by Blood had taken Place, would have had the Crown before him; and he was well aware, that every Body, who had a Mind to shew they did not care for him, would certainly do it by making their Court to her.

Quickly after this Letter therefore, the Princess, with the King's Consent, and at a Time which he appointed, waited on him at *Kenfington*, and was received with extraordinary Civility.

And now, it being publicly known, that the Quarrel was made up, nothing was to be seen but Crouds of People, of all Sorts, flocking to *Berkeley House*, to pay their Respects to the Prince and Princess: A sudden Alteration, which, I remember, occasioned the half-witted Lord *Caernarvon* to say one Night to the Princess, as he stood close by her, in the Circle, *I hope your Highness will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this Company*

Company did; which caused a great deal of Mirth.

I never heard of any Body that opposed this Reconciliation, except my Lord *Portland*. But the Person who wholly managed the Affair between the King and Princess, was my Lord *Sunderland*. He had, upon all Occasions relating to her, shewed himself a Man of Sense and Breeding; and before there was any Thought of the Queen's dying, had designed to use his utmost Endeavours to make up the Breach; in which however I am persuaded, he could not have succeeded during the Queen's Life. Her Death made it easy to him (for the Reasons I have mentioned) to bring the King to a Reconcilement; and he also persuaded his Majesty to give the Princess St. *James's-House*.

But this and some other Favours granted her, at his Lordship's Request, were only to save Appearances, and for political Views.

Views. It was very evident that the King did not care, any real Respect should be shewn to her Highness. For though to his Death she never omitted any thing that was due to him from her, and, by his Order, went several Times to wait on him at *Kensington*, no Ceremony was observed to her, more than to any other Lady; till the Thing had caused some Discourse in Town. After which my Lord *Jersey* waited upon her down Stairs once or twice, but not oftner. If any Body ever came to meet her, it was a Page of the Back-Stairs, or some Person whose Face was not known. And the Princess, upon these Occasions, has waited an Hour and half, just upon the same Foot with the rest of the Company; and not the least Excuse was made for it.

I confess, for my own Part, that in the Point of *Respect to the King (and to the Queen when living)* I thought the Princess did a great deal too much; and it
often

often made me very uneasy. For I could not endure to have her do any Thing, that I would not have done in her Place. And all the Friends I ever had in my Life would not have prevailed with me to make any one Step, the Princess did, during the Quarrel, except the first Letter she wrote to the Queen, and the last Message of offering to come to her in her Sickness. But a Letter which the Princess, after the Reconcilement, wrote to the King upon the taking of *Namur*, gave me, I think, more Concern than any other Instance of her *Respectfulness*; though it was advised by three Lords, whose Judgments all the World valued. It ran thus,

S I R,

‘ Though I have been unwilling to give
 ‘ you the Trouble of a Letter upon any
 ‘ other Occasion, yet upon one so glorious
 ‘ to your Majesty as the taking of *Namur*,
 ‘ I hope you will give me leave to congratulate

' tulate your good Success, which don't
 ' please me so much upon any other Ac-
 ' count, as for the Satisfaction, that I am
 ' sensible your Majesty must needs feel in
 ' this great Addition to the Reputation of
 ' your Arms. And I beg leave, Sir, to
 ' assure you, ~~that~~ as no Body is more near-
 ' ly concerned in your Interests, so no Bo-
 ' dy wishes more heartily for your Happi-
 ' ness and Prosperity at Home than

' *Your, &c.*

ANNE.

This Letter (which seemed to me so
 unbecoming the Princess to write) served
 no other Purpose but to give the King an
 Opportunity of shewing his brutal Dis-
 regard for the Writer; for he never returned
 any Answer to it, nor so much as a civil
 Message.

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Your

Your Lordship has had some Specimens of the Manner, in which his Majesty treated the Prince of *Denmark* before the Quarrel. I shall now give you one, of his Behaviour to him after the Reconcilement.

The King's Birth-Day coming just after the *News* of the King of *Denmark's* Death, the Prince, who had a great Tenderness for his Brother, was extremely uneasy at the Thought of putting on Colours so soon. And the Princess, knowing that it had been the Custom in former Reigns, to wait upon the King, on a Birth-Day, without coloured Clothes, when the Mourning was very deep, found Means to get my Lord *Albemarle* to ask the King's Leave, that the Prince might be admitted, in his Mourning, to wish his Majesty Joy. The Answer was, *That the King would not see him, unless he came in Colours*; and the Prince was persuaded to comply, though he did it with great Uneasiness.

I believe I could fill as many Sheets, as I have already written, with relating the Brutalities, that were done to the Prince and Princess in that Reign. The King was indeed so ill-natured and so little polished by Education, that neither in great Things nor in small had he the Manners of a Gentleman. I shall give you an Instance of his worse than vulgar Behaviour at his own Table, when the Princess dined with him.

It was in the Beginning of his Reign, and when she was with Child of the Duke of *Gloucester*. There happened to be a Plate of Pease, the first that had been seen that Year. The King, without offering the Princess the least Share of them, eat them every one up himself. Whether he offered any to the Queen, I cannot say; but he might do that safely enough, for he knew, she durst not touch them. The Princess confessed, when she came home,

she had so much Mind to the Pease, that she was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her Eyes off them.

But I shall conclude this Subject of the King's Conduct towards the Princess, with some Facts of a deeper Concern to her than those Incivilities I have just mentioned, and they will show how rightly she judged, when she formerly refused to leave the Affair of her Maintenance to his Generosity.

When the Duke of *Gloucester* was arrived at the Age, to be put into Men's Hands, the King insinuated to such Members of the Parliament, as he knew were desirous to have the Duke handsomly settled, that it would require near 50000 *l.* a Year. And, at the same Time, he promised other Persons, whom he knew it would please, that he would pay Queen *Mary* in *France* her Settlement, which was also 50000 *l.* a Year. And these Steps he took,

took, in Order to obtain an Addition of a 100000 *l.* a Year to his Civil List.

The Addition was granted, yet he never paid one Shilling to the Queen: And, as to the Duke, the King not only kept him in Women's Hands a good while after the new Revenue was granted, but, when his Highness's Family was settled, would give him no more than 15000 *l.* a Year. Nay, of this small Allowance, he refused to advance one Quarter, though it was absolutely wanted to buy Plate and Furniture; So that the Princess was forced to be at that Expence herself.

But this was not all. The King (influenced, I suppose, in this Particular, by my Lord *Sunderland*) sent the Princess Word, that, though he intended to put in all the Preceptors, he would leave it to her to chuse the rest of the Servants, except one, who was to be Deputy Gover-

nour and Gentleman of the Duke's Bed-Chamber, (which was Mr. *Sayers*.)

This Message was so humane, and of so different an Air from any Thing the Princess had been used to, that it gave her an extreme Pleasure; and she immediately set herself to provide proper Persons, and of the most Consideration, for the several Places. Mr. *Boscawen* and Secretary *Vernon's* Son were to be Grooms of the Bed-Chamber; the Sons of the Earls of *Bridge-water* and *Berkeley* were to be Pages of Honour, and so on. In the mean time the King was in no Haste to finish the Affair of the Duke's Establishment; and a little before he left *England* to go make the Campaign, told my Lord *Marlborough*, (who was now restored to the Army, and was to be Governour to the Duke of *Gloucester*) that he would send a List, from abroad, of the Servants he would have in the Duke's Family, not in the least regarding the former Message, he had sent to the Princess, which

which my Lord observing, took the Liberty to put his Majesty in Mind of it, adding, That the Princess, upon the Credit of that Message, had engaged her Promises to several Persons; and that, not to be able to perform those Promises, would be so great a Mortification, as he hoped his Majesty would not give her, at a Time, when any Thing of Trouble might do her Prejudice, she being then with Child. Hereupon the King fell into a great Passion, and said, *She should not be Queen before her Time, and he would make the List of what Servants the Duke should have.*

The King was so peremptory, that my Lord *Marlborough* could say no more, and had no Expedient left, but to get my Lord *Albemarle* to try to bring him to Reason; which his Lordship promised to do. And accordingly he took my Lord *Marlborough's* List of the Persons the Princess had chosen, and carried it with him into *Holland*. In Conclusion that List was approved, with

very few Alterations. But this was, without question, not so much owing to the King's Goodness, or my Lord *Albemarle's* Persuasions, (though I believe his Lordship did take Pains in this Matter) as to the happy Choice the Princess had made of the Servants. For the King, upon cool Consideration, must perceive, that he could not strike out of the List a greater Number than he did, without hurting himself, more than the Princess. He only made my Lord *Raby's* Brother an Equerry, and appointed, to be Gentlemen-waiters, two or three Persons, who had served the late Queen in such like Stations, and had Pensions on that Account. And it was to save this Money that the King did so ungentleman-like a Thing, as to force the Princess to fail in some of her Engagements. And he gave afterwards another remarkable Proof of his good Management; for upon the News of the Duke of *Gloucester's* Death, he sent Orders, by the very first Post, to have all his Servants discarded; a Diligence
of

of Frugality, which was surely not very decent in a King. It was by the Contrivance of Lord *Marlborough*, assisted by Lord *Albemarle*, that the Servants received their Salaries to the Quarter-day after the Duke died.

And now, after all I have related of the King, and after so much Dislike, as I have expressed of his Character and Conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I am going to say: Yes, your Lordship *will* believe me; for you will judge of *my* Heart, by the Make and Temper of your *own*. When the King came to die, I felt nothing of that Satisfaction, which I once thought I should have had upon this Occasion. And my Lord and Lady *Jersey's* writing and sending perpetually to give an Account, as his Breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with Horror. I thought I would lose the best Employment in any Court, sooner than act so odious a Part. And the King, who had
given

given me so much Cause to hate him, in that Condition I sincerely pitied : So little is it in my Nature to retain Resentment against any Mortal, (how unjust soever he may have been) in whom *the Will to injure* is no more.



§ II.

THE King died, and the Princess of Denmark took his Place. This Elevation of my Mistress to the Throne brought me into a new Scene of Life, and into a new Sort of Consideration with all those, whose Attention, either by Curiosity or Ambition, was turned to Politicks and the Court. Hitherto my Favour with her Royal Highness, though it had sometimes furnished Matter of Conversation to the Publick, had been of no Moment to the Affairs of the Nation, she herself having no Share in the Councils, by which they were managed. But from this Time, I began to be look'd upon as a Person of Consequence, without whose Approbation, at least, neither Places, nor Pensions, nor Honours were bestowed by the Crown. The intimate Friendship, with which the Queen

Queen was known to honour me, afforded a plausible Foundation for this Opinion: And I believe therefore, it will be a Surprize to many, to be told, That the first important Step, which her Majesty took, after her Accession to the Government, was against my Wishes and Inclination: I mean, *Her throwing herself and her Affairs almost entirely into the Hands of the Tories.*

I shall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the Subject of my Disagreement with her Majesty about Parties, that I may expose the Injustice of those Whigs, who, after the great Change in 1710, accused me of being the Ruin of their Cause; a Cause, that, in her Reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a Fall, but for the Zeal and Diligence, with which I seiz'd every Opportunity to raise and establish it; which, in the End, proved the Ruin of my Favour with her Majesty.

The

The Queen had from her Infancy imbibed the most unconquerable Prejudices against the Whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as Republicans, who hated the very Shadow of Regal Authority, but as implacable Enemies to the Church of *England*. This Aversion to the whole Party had been confirmed by the ill Usage she had met with from her Sister and King *William*, which though perhaps more owing to Lord *Rocheſter*, than to any Man then living, was now to be all charged to the Account of the Whigs. And Prince *George*, her Huſband, who had alſo been ill treated, in that Reign, threw into the Scale his Reſentments.

On the other Hand, the Tories had the Advantage, not only of the Queen's early Prepoſſeſſion in their Favour, but of their having aſſiſted her in the late Reign, in the Affair of her *Settlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in

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Oppoſition

Opposition to King *William*, than from any real Respect for the Princess of *Denmark*. But still they had served her. And the Winter before she came to the Crown, they had in the same Spirit of Opposition to the King, and in Prospect of his Death, paid her more than usual Civilities and Attendance.

It is no great Wonder therefore, all these Things considered, that as soon as she was seated in the Throne, the Tories (whom she usually called by the agreeable Name of the Church-Party) became the distinguished Objects of the Royal Favour.

Dr. *Sharp*, Archbishop of *York*, was pitched upon by herself to preach her Coronation Sermon, and to be her chief Counsellor in Church-matters ; and her Privy-Council was filled with Tories. My Lord *Normanby* (soon after Duke of *Buckingham*) the Earls of *Jersey* and *Nottingham*, Sir *Edward Seymour*, with many others of
the

the High-fliers, were brought into Place ; Sir *Nathan Wright* was continued in Possession of the Great Seal of *England*, and the Earl of *Rochester* in the Lieutenancy of *Ireland*. These were Men, who had all a wonderful Zeal for the Church ; a Sort of publick Merit that eclipsed all other in the Eyes of the Queen. And I am firmly persuaded, that notwithstanding her extraordinary Affection for me, and the entire Devotion which my Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord *Godolphin* had for many Years shown to her Service, they would not have had so great a Share of her Favour and Confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the Number of the Tories.

The Truth is, though both these Lords had always the real Interest of the Nation at Heart, and had given Proof of this, by their Conduct in their several Employments, in the late Reign, they had been educated in the Persuasion, that the High-Church Party were the best Friends to the Constitution,

tution, both of Church and State; nor were they perfectly undeceived but by Experience.

For my own Part, I had not the same Prepossessions. The *Word CHURCH* had never any Charm for *Me*, in the Mouths of those, who made the most Noise with it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing Proof of their Regard for the *Thing*, than a frequent Use of the *Word*, like a Spell to enchant weak Minds; and a persecuting Zeal against Dissenters, and against those real Friends of the Church, who would not admit that *Persecution* was agreeable to its Doctrine. And as to State-Affairs, many of these Churchmen seemed to me, to have no fixed Principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last Reign, to undermine that very Government, which they had contributed to establish.

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I was heartily sorry therefore, that, for the Sake of such Churchmen, others should be removed from their Employments, who had been firm to the Principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the Queen, and promote the Welfare of our Country, than the wrong-headed Politicians that succeeded them.

I resolved therefore, from the very Beginning of the Queen's Reign, to try whether I could not by Degrees make Impressions in her Mind more favourable to the Whigs; and though my Instances with her had not at first any considerable Effect, I believe, I may venture to say, it was, in some Measure, owing to them, that her Majesty did, against her own Inclinations, continue several of this Party in Office. And it is well known, that when the Queen, in the first Year of her Reign, had determined to create four new Peers, the Lords *Granville*, *Guernsey*, *Gower* and *Conway*, I prevailed that Mr. *Hervey* (the

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present Earl of *Bristol*) might be a *fifth*, in Spite of the Opposition of the Tories, and especially of the *Four* above-named; who for a while refused to accept of the Peerage, if Mr. *Hervey*, a Whig, were admitted to the same Honour.

But how difficult a Task I prescribed to myself, when I undertook to moderate her Majesty's Partiality to the Tories, and to engage her to a better Opinion of their Opposites, will abundantly appear from the following Letter, which I had the Honour to receive from her, about half a Year after her Accession to the Throne.

St. James's, Saturday the 24 Oct^r.

‘ I am very glad to find by my dear
‘ Mrs. *Freeman*’s, that I was blest with
‘ Yesterday, that she liked *my Speech*, but
‘ I cannot help being extremely concern’d,
‘ you are so partial to the Whigs, because I
‘ would not have you, and your * poor,
‘ unfortunate,

* The Queen began to stile herself after this Manner, upon the Death of the Duke of *Gloucester*.

‘ unfortunate, faithful *Morley* differ in
‘ Opinion in the least Thing. What I
‘ said, when I writ last upon this Subject,
‘ does not proceed from any Insinuations
‘ of the other Party ; but I know the
‘ Principles of the Church of *England*, and
‘ I know those of the Whigs, and it is
‘ that, and no other Reason, which makes
‘ me think as I do, of the last. And
‘ upon my Word, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*,
‘ you are mightily mistaken in your No-
‘ tion of a true Whig : For the Character,
‘ you give of them, does not in the least
‘ belong to them, but to the Church. But
‘ I will say no more on this Subject, only
‘ beg, for my poor Sake, that you would
‘ not show more Countenance to those,
‘ you seem to have so much Inclination
‘ for, than to the Church Party. Since
‘ you have staid so long at *Windſor*, I wish
‘ now for your own Sake, that you would
‘ stay till after *my Lord Mayor’s Day* ; for
‘ if you are in Town, *you can’t avoid go-*
‘ *ing to the Show*, and being in the Coun-
‘ try is a just Excuse ; and, I think, one

‘ would be glad of any to avoid so trouble-
 ‘ som a Business. I am at this Time in
 ‘ great Haste, and therefore can say no
 ‘ more to my dear dear Mrs. *Freeman*, but
 ‘ that I am most passionately Her’s *.

As my early Zeal for the Whigs is in-
 contestably manifest from what her Majesty
 here says to me, so, I think, it will be no
 less evident to any one who reflects on my
 Situation at that Time, that this Zeal
 could proceed from nothing but Conviction
 of the Goodness of the Cause I espoused.

For, as to private Interest, the Whigs
 could have done nothing for my Advan-
 tage

* The Queen very seldom dated her Letters fully,
 and the Year is not mentioned in the Date of this,
 but it is evident from the Contents, that it was writ-
 ten in 1702, the first Year of her Majesty’s Reign ;
 for she went that Year to my Lord Mayor’s Show,
 and nothing but *her* going could have made it unavoid-
 able for *me* to go, if I were in Town. And whoever
 will give themselves the Trouble of the Enquiry, will
 find that the 24th of *October* fell that Year on a *Sa-*
turday, and that the Queen made her Speech to the
 Parliament a few Days before.

tage more than the Tories. I needed not the Assistance of either to ingratiate me with the Queen. She had both before and since her Accession, given the most unquestionable Proofs, that she considered me, not only as a most faithful Servant, but as her dear Friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme Goodness to me since the Breaking out of the Quarrel between her Sister and her, that I might not interrupt the Relation of that Matter in which my chief Aim was the Justification of my Mistress's Conduct and my own upon that Occasion. Her Letters to me afterwards (of which I have great Numbers still by me) were in the same Strain of Tendernefs as those you have read ; and upon her coming to the Crown, she had not only made me her Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy Purse, but had given the Command of the Army to my Lord *Marlborough*, and the Treasurer's Staff to my Lord *Godolphin*, to whose Son my eldest Daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no Motive of private Interest to bias me to the Whigs. Every Body must see, that, had I consulted that Oracle about the Choice of a Party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the Stream of my Mistress's Inclination and Prejudices. This would have been the surest Way to secure my Favour with her.

Nor had I any particular Obligations to the Whigs that should bend me to their Side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had Reason to look upon them as my personal Enemies, at the same Time that I saw the Tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me Court. Even the Pride of my Lord *Rocheſter* condeſcended to write me a very fine Piece, when my Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert* died, that his Daughter, my Lady *Dalkeith*, might be a Lady of the Bed-chamber in her Place. I confeſs indeed, I was not a little ſurprized at this Application from his Lordſhip. I
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thank God, I have had Experience enough of my own Temper to be very sure, I can forgive any Injury, when the Person, from whom I have received it, shows any Thing like Repentance. But could I ever be so unfortunate, as to persecute another without Cause, as my Lord *Rocheſter* did me, I am confident, that even Want of Bread could not induce me to ask a Favour of that Person. But ſurely his Lordſhip had ſomething very uncommon in his Temper.

What induced him to the preſent Condeſcenſion, was, I ſuppoſe, his late Experience, that I did not make Uſe of my Influence with the Queen, to gratify any perſonal Pique or Reſentment. For upon the Queen's Acceſſion to the Throne, Lady *Hyde* had ſpoke to me, that ſhe might be a Lady of the Bed-chamber, and I had ſerved her very ſincerely and effectually. For though the Queen did not like her, yet, as her Majeſty had been pleaſed to forgive the ill Behaviour of my Lord *Ro-*

chester to her, during the Reigns of King *Charles*, King *James*, and Queen *Mary*, I thought it reasonable that his Son's Wife should be a Lady of the Bed-chamber. There was, in Truth, a particular Pleasure in serving my Lady *Hyde* in this Instance on her own Account ; for in my Life I never saw any Mortal have such a Passion for any Thing, as she had to be in that Post. While the Thing was depending, she had so much Concern upon her, that she never spoke to me upon the Subject without blushing. And after it was granted, she made me more Expressions, than ever I had from any Body on any Occasion. Among other Compliments, I had this Letter from her.

Monday Morning.

‘ I have been three times in the Draw-
 ‘ ing Room, in hopes to meet your Lady-
 ‘ ship there, that I might myself tell you,
 ‘ how extreme sensible I am of your La-
 ‘ dyship's Favour to me. You will add
 ‘ another, if you will forgive my Impa-
 tience,

' tience, that cannot stay longer without
 ' thanking you myself, though Mrs. *Low-*
 ' *ther* has undertaken for me. I am very
 ' happy in my Request being granted, and
 ' your Ladyship may depend, any Com-
 ' mand of your's shall be obeyed, for I will
 ' not, without your Leave, brag even to
 ' my Lady *Hariotte*, who did me the Fa-
 ' vour to speak to your Ladyship. I am
 ' not good at saying much, but I am sure
 ' it will be a Pleasure to me to shew you
 ' in every Thing I can, how faithfully and
 ' sincerely I am

Your Ladyship's humble Servant,

J. HYDE.

In what Manner this Lady treated me afterwards, is not worth the While to mention.

As to my Lord *Rocheſter's* Request in
 Behalf of my Lady *Dalkeith*, it could not
 be granted; becauſe in Reality there was
 no Vacancy. The Queen had reſolved to
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have no more than ten Ladies, and the Number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for some short Time; but this had been occasioned by the Duchess of *Somerset*'s declining to accept one of these Places, when it was offered her at the settling of the Queen's Family, and soon after desiring to have it, when they were all filled. As she was the first Protestant Duchess of *England*, I persuaded the Queen to be pleased, in Compliment to her Grace, to have eleven Ladies for the little Time Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert* had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when her Majesty complied, it was with full Purpose that the Number of her Ladies should be only ten after Lady *Charlotte*'s Death. And this Answer having been given to several others who had solicited to succeed Lady *Charlotte*, my Lord *Rochester* could have no Reason to be offended, that the like Excuse was made to him, with Regard to his Daughter.

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I have been the more particular on this Affair, that it may appear, the Refusal my Lord *Rochester* met with was not owing to any Resentment of mine, against him or his Family. And I do assure you most sincerely, that I could so entirely have forgotten all his Lordship's ill Treatment of me, as to have acted in Concert and Friendship with him, if I had thought he would have followed the Queen's true Interest. But the Gibberish of that Party about Non-Resistance and Passive-Obedience and Hereditary Right, I could not think to forebode any Good to my Mistress, whose Title rested upon a different Foundation. On the other Hand, the Principles professed by those called Whigs seemed to me rational, entirely tending to the Preservation of the Liberties of the Subject, and no Way to the Prejudice of the Church as by Law established; for which, I believe I may without Vanity venture to say, I had at least as much Respect, as the Duke of *Buckingham* or Sir *Edward Seymour*. And as this was really
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my Way of Thinking concerning the two Parties, it would have been contrary to the Frankness of my Temper and to the Obligations of that Friendship with which the Queen honoured me, not to have told her my Sentiments without Reserve. Nay I had her express Command so to do. She had often urged me to it, in almost the same Terms she uses in a Letter of her own Hand-writing, which I have now before me.

‘ You can never give me any greater
 ‘ Proof of your Friendship than in telling
 ‘ me your Mind freely in all Things,
 ‘ which I do beg you to do, &c.

I did therefore speak very freely and very frequently to her Majesty upon the Subject of Whig and Tory according to my Conception of their different Views and Principles. It was at first to little Effect: And perhaps I should never have succeeded so far as I did, if the Leaders of the Tories had not, by the Heat and Agitation

tation with which they over-acted their Part, exposed that monopolizing Ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the Cloak of Zeal for the Church.

The Church of *England*, one would naturally think, could not be in any *immediate* Danger of perishing under the care of such a *nursing Mother* as the Queen, whose Affection to it was never doubted, and who, for it's better Security, had chosen it's most renowned Champions to be of her Ministry and Council. Nevertheless in the very first new Parliament, after her Majesty's Accession, it was thought necessary with all Diligence to provide new Strength, new Supports for this flourishing Church, as if it had been in the most tottering and declining Condition.

One cannot better represent the noble Spirit, with which the Zealots began their Play than by transcribing some Part of the Commons Address to the Queen, in Answer to her most gracious Speech at the Opening of the Sessions.

—‘ Your

—— ‘ Your Majesty has been always
 ‘ a most illustrious Ornament to this
 ‘ Church, and has been exposed to great
 ‘ Hazards for it, and therefore we pro-
 ‘ mise our selves, That, in your Majesty’s
 ‘ Reign, we shall see it perfectly restored
 ‘ to it’s due Rights and Privileges, and
 ‘ secured in the same to Posterity; which
 ‘ is only to be done by divesting those
 ‘ Men of the Power, who have shown
 ‘ they want not the Will to destroy it.

The Queen in her Speech had declared her Resolution to defend and maintain the Church as by Law established. Of *this* they tell her they have no Doubt, after her repeated Assurances. But *this* was not enough. So illustrious an Ornament of the Church must not content herself with protecting it in it’s *legal* Rights, but she must contribute to restore it to it’s *due* Rights, that is, she must restore Tories and High-Churchmen to their *divine* Rights and Privileges of possessing all the Civil Offices in the State,
 and

and being the only Men elected to serve in Parliament, to the Exclusion of all Whigs and Low-Churchmen, who being Enemies of the Church, and having a Will to destroy it, must be divested of the Power to execute their Malice.

That this was the Meaning of the Address I believe no Body doubts; and the *occasional Conformity Bill*, which, in Consequence of this Zeal for the Church, was soon brought into Parliament, did not aim at excluding from Employments the *Occasional* Conformists only, but all those *constant* Conformists too, who could not relish the High-Church Nonsense of promoting Religion by Persecution. For as the Tories were well acquainted with her Majesty's entire Devotion to the Church, they designed this *Bill*, as a *Test*, whereby she might certainly distinguish it's Friends from it's Foes; and they doubted not but she would reckon among the latter whoever should oppose so religious a Scheme.

The Bill, as every Body knows, was carried triumphantly through the House of Commons; and the Prince of *Denmark* (though himself an occasional Conformist) was persuaded to vote for it, in the House of Lords. However it miscarried there (I forget how) to the great Disappointment and Mortification of the Party. Nay it began to be suspected that some of the chief Men at Court were not so zealous in the good Cause as they should be. My Lord *Rochester* was, I think, the first of the *Tory* Leaders that discovered a deep Discontent with the Queen and her Administration. Before the End of the Year he resigned the Lieutenancy of *Ireland* in great Wrath, upon her Majesty's being so unreasonable as to press him to go thither to attend the Affairs of that Kingdom, which greatly needed his Presence. For as the Revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was necessary to call a Parliament in order to another Supply; and a Parliament could not be held without a Lord Lieutenant. But when the Queen represented these Things

to him he told her with great Insolence, that *he would not go into Ireland, though she would give the Country to him and his Son*; so that he seems to have accepted the Post only that he might reign in *Ireland* by the Ministry of his Brother *Keightley*, as he hoped to do in *England*, in Person. Nor could he, after his Resignation, overcome his Anger so far as to wait upon the Queen or to go to Council; which she observing ordered, after some Time, that he should no more be summoned, ‘ saying, it was not ‘ reasonable my Lord *Rocheſter* should come ‘ to Council only when he pleased.

Perhaps his Lordship’s Unwillingness to leave *England* might proceed from his Zeal for the Church, and from his Fears lest it should be betrayed in his Absence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good Reason, that the true Source of his Dissatisfaction was the Queen’s not making him her sole Governor and Director, and my Lord *Godolphin*’s being preferred before him for the Treasury: which, if true,

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affords a remarkable Instance, how much Self-Love and Self-Conceit can blind even a Man of Sense; for such, by his Party at least, he was esteemed to be. I don't wonder that he should like Power (it is what most People are fond of) or that being related to the Queen he should expect a particular Consideration. This was very natural and very reasonable, if he had behaved himself to her as he ought: but when one considers, that his Relation to her was by such a sort of Accident, and that his Conduct had been so very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing Thing that he should imagine, he was to domineer over the Queen and every Body else, as he did over his own Family.

✕ Whether the Church was in any Danger or not *before*, it could not be questioned by any good Churchman, but it *now* began to be in some Peril when my Lord *Rochester* was no longer in Place, nor in the Council. The Bill against occasional Conformity was revived by the Tories the next Sessions of Parliament; which Proceeding, whatever

whatever regard it might show for the Church, did certainly show little Respect or Gratitude to the Queen, who had hitherto showered her Favours upon the Party. For her Majesty having been informed, that this Bill had alarmed a great Part of her Subjects, who were otherwise perfectly well affected to her Government, and no less able than zealous to assist her in carrying on the War against the common Enemy, had endeavoured in her Speech, by the warmest Expressions, to dissuade the Parliament from this Measure, as it might prove a Source of fatal Divisions at Home, where Union and Harmony were so necessary in order to the Success of our Affairs abroad.

But the Interest of the *Church*, that is, of *High-Churchmen*, was to be preferred before the Interest of the Queen or of the Nation, or the Preservation of the Liberties of *Europe*. The Bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an easy Passage through the House of Commons, it met with the same Fate as the Year before in the House of Lords.

This new Blow to the Church was soon followed by another, the Removal of Lord *Jersey* and Sir *Edward Seymour* from their Employments; and about the same Time Lord *Nottingham* resigned his Place of Secretary of State, because the Whigs were too much favoured.

The Whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good Reason. For when they saw that My Lord *Marlborough* prosecuted the common Cause with such hearty Diligence and such unexpected Success, they, notwithstanding the Partiality which had been shown to their Opposites, universally forgot their Resentments, and no longer considering themselves as an oppressed Party, ran in with the loudest Acclamations, extolling his Merit and Services: And as the Trade and Money of the Nation were chiefly in the Hands of those, who espoused the Cause, in which the Ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my Lord *Godolphin* began to pay them as much Regard as the Times and the Queen's Prejudices would permit him to do.

The Church in the mean while, it must
be

he confessed, was in a deplorable Condition. The Earls of *Rocheſter*, *Jerſey*, and *Nottingham*, and Sir *Edward Seymour* out of Place, and the Whigs coming into Favour. It was reſolved therefore the next Seſſions of Parliament to tack the Occaſional Conformity-Bill to the Money-Bill, a Reſolution which ſhowed the Spirit of the Party in it's true Light. But it happened that my Lord *Marlborough*, in the Summer before the Parliament met, gained the Battle of *Blenheim*. This was an unfortunate Accident; and by the viſible Diſſatisfaction of ſome People on the News of it, one would have imagined, that inſtead of beating the *French*, he had beat the *Church*. And I cannot here omit one remarkable Inſtance of true Party Spirit in the Tories on this Occaſion. My Lord *Marlborough*, before he had had ſufficient Opportunity of ſhowing the Greatneſs of the General, had, for his firſt Succeſſes in the War, been complimented by this very Houſe of Commons, as the *Retriever of the Glory of the Engliſh Nation*, being then reputed a High-Churchman. But now
that

that he was thought to look towards the moderate Party, his *complete Victory* at *Blenheim* was, in the Address of Congratulation to the Queen, ridiculously paired with *Sir George Rook's Drawn Battle* with the *French* at Sea.

However, neither the Glory of this Victory, nor the important Consequences of it, could be hid, even from the Eyes of those who would have been the most willing not to see them. The Power of *France* was broken by it to a great Degree, and the Liberties and Peace of *Europe* were in a fair Way to be established upon firm and lasting Foundations. The less violent Part of the Tories therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard these great and pleasing Hopes, by tacking them to the Fortune of the *Occasional Conformity Bill*. The Tack was rejected by the Majority of the Members, even of this House of Commons, so rich in Tories and high Churchmen. And though the Bill by itself was afterwards passed in that House, it was again thrown out by the Lords.

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The last great Wound given to the Church this Year, was by the Queen's taking the Privy Seal from the Duke of *Buckingham*.

And the next Year I prevail'd with her Majesty to take the great Seal from Sir *Nathan Wright*, a Man despised by all Parties, of no Use to the Crown, and whose weak and wretched Conduct in the Court of *Chancery*, had almost brought his very Office into Contempt. His Removal however was a great Loss to the Church, for which he had ever been a warm Stickler. And this Loss was the more sensibly felt, as his Successor, my Lord *Cowper*, was not only of the Whig-Party, but of such Abilities and Integrity, as brought a new Credit to it in the Nation.

But, what was worse than all these Misfortunes, the Majority of the House of Commons in the new Parliament of 1705, proved to be Whig.

No Wonder if, in these sad Circumstances, a loud and piteous Cry was raised upon
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the extreme Danger of the poor Church. A doleful Piece, penn'd by some of the Zealots of the Party, and called *The Memorial of the Church of England*, was printed and spread abroad, setting forth her melancholy Condition and Distress; and much Lamentation it occasioned. But what Remedy? There could be no Hope of getting an *Occasional Conformity Bill* passed in this Parliament. One Expedient still remained; and this was, to invite the Princess *Sophia of Hanover*, the present King's Grandmother, to come over and defend the Church. Her Presence here, though she would not probably, as being a *Lutheran*, be very zealous for a Bill against Occasional Conformists, yet might happily prove a Means to hinder the Whigs from bringing in Popery and the Pretender. A Motion was therefore made in the House of Lords for this Invitation; and the Necessity of it was urged with great Strength of Argument by the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Nottingham*, and the other grave Men of the Party. Not that they had the least Hope or the least

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Desire

Desire to carry their Point, but being well assured that the Queen would never consent to such an Invitation, nor pardon her Ministers if they encouraged the Design, this was a notable Stratagem to ruin them, either with her Majesty, or with the Nation; for if in Compliance with her Prejudices they opposed this Motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the publick Odium upon them, as declared Enemies to the Protestant Succession.

This hopeful Scheme however did not succeed. The Whigs opposed the Invitation, and yet preserved their Credit, to the great Mortification of the other Party. I know that my Lord *Godolphin*, and other great Men, were much reflected upon by some well disposed Persons, for not laying hold of this Opportunity, which the Tories put into their Hands, of more effectually securing the Succession to the Crown in the House of *Hanover*. But those of the Whigs, whose Anger against the Minister was raised on this Account, little knew how

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impracticable the Project of *Invitation* was, and that the Attempt would have only served to make the Queen discard her Ministry, to the Ruin of the common Cause of these Kingdoms, and of all *Europe*. I had often tried her Majesty upon this Subject ; and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate Successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young Prince of *Hanover*, who was not to be her immediate Successor, and that she would let him live here as her Son : but her Majesty would listen to no Proposal of this Kind in any Shape whatsoever.

To give a full Answer to all Objections against the Ministers Conduct with Regard to this Matter, I shall here relate a Transaction that passed three Years afterwards, which will show not only the Insincerity of the Tories in their Zeal for the House of *Hanover*, when they moved for the Princess *Sophia's* being invited hither, but how insuperably averse the Queen was to suffer the Presence of any of that Family.

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My Lord *Haversham*, a great Speech-maker, and Publisher of his Speeches, and who was become the Mouth of the Party for any extraordinary Alarm, was sent privately by the Tories to the Queen, to acquaint her with the Discovery, they pretended to have made, of a terrible Design formed by the Whigs, to bring over one of the House of *Hanover*, and to force this upon her whether she would or not. Now can any Thing be more curious than such a Message from the Tories, and by such a Messenger? For my Lord *Haversham* was the Man who had moved for the Princess *Sophia's* coming over as a Thing necessary for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion. But *now* any Design of inviting hither one of that Family was of so frightful a Nature, that it must be esteemed meritorious to give early Notice of the Danger. I shall make no further Comment upon this Proceeding, but transcribe a Part of the Queen's Letter to the Duke of *Marlborough* upon this Occasion.

July 22^d 1708.

‘ ——— I cannot end this without giving
 ‘ you an Account in short, of a Visit I had
 ‘ from Lord *Haversham*. He told me his
 ‘ Business was to let me know, there was
 ‘ certainly a Design laying between the
 ‘ Whigs and some great Men, to have an
 ‘ Address made in the next Sessions of Par-
 ‘ liament for inviting the Electoral Prince
 ‘ over to settle here, and that he would
 ‘ certainly come to make a Visit, as soon as
 ‘ the Campaign was over, and that there
 ‘ was nothing for me to do, to prevent my
 ‘ being forced to do this, (as I certainly
 ‘ would) but my showing myself to be
 ‘ Queen, and making it my own Act. I
 ‘ told him, if this Matter should be brought
 ‘ into Parliament, whoever proposed it, whe-
 ‘ ther Whig or Tory, I should look upon
 ‘ neither of them as my Friends, nor would
 ‘ ever make any Invitation neither to
 ‘ the young Man, nor his Father, nor his
 ‘ Grandmother.

‘ ——— What I have to say upon this
 ‘ Subject,

' Subject, at this Time, is, to beg you
 ' would find whether there is any Design
 ' where you are, that the young Man should
 ' make a Visit in the Winter, and contrive
 ' some Way to put any such Thought out
 ' of their Head, that the Difficulty may not
 ' be brought upon me of refusing him Leave
 ' to come, if he should ask it, or forbid-
 ' ding him to come, if he should attempt
 ' it: For one of these two Things *I must*
 ' do, if either he or his Father should have
 ' any Desires to have him see this Country,
 ' it being a Thing *I cannot bear*, to have
 ' any Successor here, though but for a
 ' Week: And therefore I shall depend upon
 ' you, to do every Thing on the other Side
 ' of the Water to prevent this Mortifica-
 ' tion from coming upon her, that is, and
 ' ever will be, most sincerely, &c.

To return to the Motion for inviting the
 Princess *Sophia*. It was upon this Occasion,
 that the Queen gave the first Indications of
 any Thing like a real Reconcilement to the
 Whigs. For though she had been prevailed
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with to express a Desire, that the Parliament would avoid Measures tending to create Divisions and Animosities at Home, (meaning the Occasional Conformity Bill) yet you will see by the following Letters from her Majesty to me, how much she lean'd all along, in her Inclination, to the Tories, and even to those very Measures she would have dissuaded them from; and which she only thought unseasonable at that Time.

Friday Morning.

‘ I give my dear Mrs. *Freeman* many
 ‘ Thanks for her long Letter, and am truly
 ‘ sensible of the sincere Kindness you express in it; and in Return, to ease your
 ‘ Mind, I must tell you, *Mr. Bromley will*
 ‘ *be disappointed, for the Prince does not*
 ‘ *intend to go to the House, when the Bill*
 ‘ *of Occasional Conformity is brought in;*
 ‘ but at the same Time that I think him
 ‘ very much in the right not to vote in it,
 ‘ I shall not have the worse Opinion of any
 ‘ of the Lords that are for it; for though
 ‘ I

' I should have been very glad, it had not
 ' been brought into the House of Commons,
 ' because I would not have had any Pre-
 ' tence given for quarrelling ; I can't help
 ' thinking, now it is as good as past there,
 ' it will be better for the Service to have it
 ' pass the House of Lords too. I must own
 ' to you, that I never cared to mention
 ' any Thing on this Subject to you, because
 ' I knew you would not be of my Mind;
 ' but since you have given me this Occa-
 ' sion, I can't forbear saying, that I see no-
 ' thing like Persecution in this Bill. You
 ' may think it is a Notion Lord Nottingham
 ' has put into my Head, but upon my Word
 ' it is my own Thought. I am in Hopes I
 ' shall have one Look before you go to
 ' St. Albans, and therefore will say no more
 ' now, but will answer your Letter more at
 ' large, some other Time; and only pro-
 ' mise my dear Mrs. Freeman faithfully, I
 ' will read the Book she sent me, and beg
 ' she would never let Difference of Opinion
 ' hinder us from living together, as we
 ' used to do. Nothing shall ever alter your

‘ poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, who
 ‘ will live and die with all Truth and Ten-
 ‘ derness, your’s. *

The following Letters from the Queen to me, relate to the Occasional Conformity Bill, when it was intended to tack it to the Money Bill in 1704.

November 17th 1704.

‘ ——— I am sure no Body shall endea-
 ‘ your more to promote it [*Union*] than
 ‘ your poor, unfortunate, faithful *Mor-*
 ‘ *ley*, who doth not at all doubt of your
 ‘ *Truth and Sincerity to her*, and hopes her
 ‘ *not agreeing in every Thing you say*, will
 ‘ not

* It is evident, that this Letter, though it bears no other Date than *Friday Morning*, was written about the Beginning of *December 1703*, when the *Occasional Conformity Bill* was brought in by *Mr. Bromley*. And it is probable, from some Words in the Letter, that this Bill had passed the Committee, when the Queen wrote.

Lord Nottingham, by whose Advice, the Queen supposes, that I believe her influenced, was then Secretary of State.

The Prince of *Denmark* did not vote for the Bill this Year, nor go to the House on this Occasion; so that *Mr. Bromley* was disappointed.

' not be imputed to Want of Value, Esteem,
 ' or tender Kindness for my dear, dear
 ' Mrs. *Freeman*, it being impossible for any
 ' one to be more sincerely another's, than
 ' I am your's.

St. *James's*, November the 21st.

' I had just sealed up my Letter on *Sa-*
 ' *turday* Night as I received the Satisfaction
 ' of my dear Mrs. *Freeman's* of that Day's
 ' Date, but would not open it again, con-
 ' cluding I should have Time, either *Sun-*
 ' *day* or *Yesterday*, to thank you for it.
 ' When *Sunday* came I had several Hin-
 ' drances, and *Yesterday* I sat down to write,
 ' but was hinder'd by one of the *Scots* People
 ' coming to speak with me, or else I should
 ' not have been so long without telling
 ' you, I am very sorry, you should forbear
 ' writing upon the Apprehension of your
 ' Letters being troublesom, *since you know*
 ' *very well they are not, nor ever can be so,*
 ' but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate,
 ' faithful *Morley*. Upon what my dear
 ' Mrs. *Freeman* says again concerning the

N

' Address,

‘ Addrefs, I have looked it over again, and
 ‘ cannot for my Life fee, one can put any
 ‘ other Interpretation upon that Word *Pres-*
 ‘ *ures*, than what I have done already. As
 ‘ to my faying the Church was in fome
 ‘ Danger in the late Reign, I cannot alter
 ‘ my Opinion; for though there was no
 ‘ violent Thing done, every Body that will
 ‘ fpeak impartially muft own, that every
 ‘ Thing was leaning towards the Whigs,
 ‘ *and whenever that is, I fhall think the*
 ‘ *Church beginning to be in Danger* *.

But though it appears by thefe Letters that
 the Queen was not hitherto inwardly convert-
 ed to the Whigs, neither by all that I had been
 able to fay, nor even by the mad Conduct
 of the Tacking Tories, yet, as I before hint-
 ed, their Behaviour in the Affair of the *In-*
vitation

* It would be hard to determine from the imperfect
 Date of this Letter or the Subject Matter of it, whether
 it was writ in 1703 or 1704; but as the firft Lines of
 it fhew, that it was written on a *Tuesday*, this fixes it
 to 1704, the 21st of *November* falling that Year on a
Tuesday.

The Occafional Conformity Bill was read the firft
 Time 23d *November*.

vitiation occasioned something like a Change in her. She had been present at the Debates in the House of Lords upon that Subject, and had heard the Duke of *Buckingham* treat her with great Disrespect, urging as an Argument for inviting over the Princess *Sophia*, that the Queen might live till she did not know what she did, and be like a Child in the Hands of others ; and a great deal to the same Effect. Such rude Treatment from the Tories, and the Zeal and Success of the Whigs in opposing a Motion, so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her to write to me in the following Terms.

‘ ——— I believe dear Mrs. *Freeman* and
 ‘ I shall not disagree as we have formerly
 ‘ done ; for I am sensible of the Services
 ‘ those People have done me that you have
 ‘ a good Opinion of, and will countenance
 ‘ them, and am thoroughly convinced of
 ‘ the Malice and Insolence of *them*, that
 ‘ you have always been speaking against.’

And at this same Time, her Majesty au-

thorized my Lord *Godolphin* to give the utmost Assurances to the chief Men of the Whigs, that she would put herself and her Affairs into such Hands as they should approve, and would do every Thing possible for the Security of the Protestant Succession.

But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much Solicitation, that her Majesty could be prevailed with, so far to oblige the Whigs, as to make my Lord *Sunderland* Secretary of State in the Room of Sir *Charles Hedges*. The Whigs, after the Services they had done, and the Assurances the Queen had given them, thought it reasonable to expect, that *one* of the Secretaries at least should be such a Man as they could place a Confidence in. They believed they might trust my Lord *Sunderland*; and though they did not think him the properest Man for the Post, yet being my Lord *Marlborough's* Son-in-law they chose to recommend him to her Majesty, because, as they expressed themselves to me, they imagined it was *driving the Nail that would go*.

I must

I must observe here that my Lord *Marlborough* was not, in his Inclination, for this Promotion of my Lord *Sunderland*. I have a Letter from him expressing his Dislike to the Design. But how hard pressed both he and my Lord *Godolphin* were by the Whigs to have it brought to Effect, will fully appear by the following Letter on the same Subject.

Grametz October 1706.

‘ When I writ my last, I was very full
 ‘ of the Spleen, and I think with too much
 ‘ Reason. My whole Time, to the best of
 ‘ my Understanding, has been employed for
 ‘ the publick Good, as I do assure you I do
 ‘ in the Presence of God, neglecting no
 ‘ Opportunity of letting 83 * see what I
 ‘ take to be her true Interest. It is terrible
 ‘ to go through so much Uneasiness. I do
 ‘ not say this to flatter any Party, for I will
 ‘ never do it, let the Consequence be what
 ‘ it will. For, as Parties, they are both
 ‘ in the wrong. But ’tis certain 73 and
 ‘ his Adherents are not to be trusted. So

‘ that

* The Queen,

‘ that 83 * has no Choice, but that of em-
 ‘ ploying those who will carry on the War
 ‘ and support 91 †. And if any other
 ‘ Method is taken I know we shall go in-
 ‘ to Confusion. Now this being the Case,
 ‘ I leave you to judge, whether I am dealt
 ‘ kindly with? I do not say this for any
 ‘ other End, but to have your Justice and
 ‘ Kindness; for in that will consist my fu-
 ‘ ture Happiness. I am sure I would ven-
 ‘ ture a thousand Lives, if I had them, to
 ‘ procure Ease and Happiness to the Queen.
 ‘ And yet no Number of Men could per-
 ‘ suade me to act as a Minister in what
 ‘ was not my Opinion. So that I shall
 ‘ never fail in speaking my Mind very freely.
 ‘ And as my Opinion is, that the Tackers
 ‘ and all the Adherents of 73 are not for
 ‘ carrying on the War, which is for the
 ‘ true Interest of the Queen and Kingdom,
 ‘ you may depend I shall never join with
 ‘ any but such as I think will serve her and
 ‘ the true interest of our Country with all
 ‘ their Hearts. And if the War continues
 ‘ but one Year longer with Success, I hope
 ‘ it

* The Queen.

† Lord Godolphin.

' it will not be in any Body's Power to
 ' make the Queen's Business uneasy. And
 ' then I shall be glad to live as quiet as
 ' possible, and not envy the governing
 ' Men, who would then I believe think bet-
 ' ter of 90 and 91 * than they now do.
 ' And I will own frankly to you, that the
 ' Jealousy some of your Friends have, that
 ' 90 and 91 do not act sincerely, makes
 ' me so weary, that, were it not for my
 ' Gratitude for 83, and Concern for 91, I
 ' would now retire and never serve more.
 ' For I have had the good Luck to deserve
 ' better from all *Englishmen*, than to be
 ' suspected for not being in the true Interest
 ' of my Country; which I am in, and ever
 ' will be, without being of a Faction. And
 ' this Principle shall govern me for the little
 ' Remainder of my Life. I must not think
 ' of being popular; but I shall have the Sa-
 ' tisfaction of my going to the Grave with
 ' the Opinion of having acted, as became
 ' an honest Man. And if I have your Es-
 ' teem and Love, I should think myself
 entirely

* Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

‘ entirely happy. Having writ thus far
 ‘ I have received your two Letters of the
 ‘ 20th and 21st, which confirm me in my
 ‘ Opinion before. And since the Resolu-
 ‘ tion is taken to vex and ruin 91, because
 ‘ 83 has not complied with what was de-
 ‘ fired for 117 *, I shall from hencefor-
 ‘ ward despise all Mankind, and think there
 ‘ is no such thing as Virtue. For I know
 ‘ with what Zeal 91 has pressed 83 in
 ‘ that Matter. I do pity him, and shall al-
 ‘ ways love him as long as I live; and never
 ‘ be a Friend to any that can be his Enemy.

‘ I have writ my Mind very freely to
 ‘ 83 †, on this Occasion, so that whatever
 ‘ Misfortune may happen, I shall have a
 ‘ quiet Mind, having done what I thought
 ‘ my Duty. And as for the Resolution of
 ‘ making me uneasy, I believe they will
 ‘ not have much Pleasure in that, for as I
 ‘ have not set my Heart on having Justice
 ‘ done me, I shall not be disappointed; nor
 ‘ will I be ill used by any Man.

‘ I shall

* Lord Sunderland.

† The Queen.

' nefs and Concern, which I have ever had
 ' for your Service, that it was not poffible
 ' for you to carry on your Government
 ' much longer, with fo much Partiality to
 ' one Sort of Men, though they lofe no
 ' Occafion of differving you, and of show-
 ' ing the greateft Inveteracy againft my
 ' Lord *Marlborough* and my Lord Trea-
 ' furer; and fo much Discouragement to
 ' others, who even after great Difobligati-
 ' ons, have taken feveral Opportunities to
 ' show their Firmnefs to your Majesty's In-
 ' tereft, and their Zeal to fupport you, and
 ' your Minifters too, only becaufe they had
 ' been faithful and ufeful Servants to you
 ' and the Publick.

' This was all the Senfe and Meaning of
 ' my Letter, and if you can find Fault with
 ' this, I am fo unhappy as that you muft
 ' always find Fault with me, for *I am un-*
 ' *capable of thinking otherwife as long as I*
 ' *live, or of acting now but upon the fame*
 ' *Principle that I ferved you before you came*
 ' *to the Crown for fo many Years, when your*
 ' *unlimited*

' unlimited Favour and Kindness to me, could
 ' never tempt me to make Use of it in one
 ' single Instance that was not for your Inte-
 ' rest and Service. I am afraid I have been
 ' too long in explaining my Thoughts upon
 ' the Subject of my own Letter, which it
 ' seems has been so great an Offence, and
 ' how justly I leave you to judge; and I
 ' must beg your Patience, since I am not
 ' very like to trouble you again, to let me
 ' say something upon the Subject of your
 ' Letter to my Lord Treasurer, which he
 ' has shewn me to Day, with more Con-
 ' cern than I know how to express: This
 ' was indeed the Subject of my own Let-
 ' ter, and the Occasion of it, for I do not
 ' only see the Uneasiness and the Grief he
 ' has to leave your Service, when you seem
 ' so desirous he should continue in it, but I
 ' see as well as he, the Impossibility of his
 ' being able to support it, or himself, or
 ' my Lord *Marlborough*, for it all hangs
 ' upon one Thread; and when they are
 ' forced to leave your Service, *you will then,*
 ' indeed, find yourself in the Hands of a vio-

' *lent Party, who I am sure will have very*
 ' *little Mercy or even Humanity for you.*
 ' Whereas you might prevent all these Mis-
 ' fortunes, by giving my Lord Treasurer
 ' and my Lord *Marlborough* (whom you
 ' may so safely trust) Leave to propose those
 ' Things to you, which they know and
 ' can judge to be absolutely necessary for
 ' your Service, which will put it in their
 ' Power to influence those, who have given
 ' you Proofs both of their being able to serve
 ' you, and of their desiring to make you
 ' great and happy. But rather than your
 ' Majesty will employ a Party-man, as you
 ' are pleased to call Lord *Sunderland*, you
 ' will put all Things in Confusion, and at
 ' the same Time that you say this, you em-
 ' ploy Sir *C. Hedges*, who is in one against
 ' you, only that he has voted in remarkable
 ' Things that he might keep his Place; and
 ' he did the same Thing in the late King's
 ' Time, till at last, that every Body saw
 ' he was just dying and he could lose no-
 ' thing by differing with that Court: But
 ' formerly he voted with those Men, the
 ' Enemies

' Enemies to this Government call Whigs,
 ' and if he had not been a Party-man, how
 ' could he have been a Secretary of State,
 ' when all your Councils were influenced
 ' by my Lord R. Lord *Nott*. Sir *E. Seymour*,
 ' and about six or seven more just such Men,
 ' that call themselves *the Heroes for the Church*?
 ' But what Church can any Man be of that
 ' would disturb so just a Government as
 ' yours, or how can any Body be in the
 ' true Interest of *England*, that opposes you
 ' and your Ministers, by whose Advice, in
 ' four Years Time, you are very near pulling
 ' down the Power of *France*, and making
 ' *that Religion, they only talk of, not only more*
 ' *secure than in any of the late Reigns, but*
 ' *putting it upon a better Foundation than it*
 ' *has been since the Reformation?*

' You are pleased to say you think it a
 ' great Hardship, to persuade a Man to
 ' part with a Place he is in Possession of,
 ' for one that is not vacant. In some Cases
 ' that were certainly right, but not in this;
 ' for Sir *Charles Hedges* can have the Place

‘ he desires immediately, and it is much
 ‘ better for him, unless he could be Secre-
 ‘ tary of State for Life. He will have two
 ‘ Places that are considerable, one of which
 ‘ he can compass no other Way, and this is
 ‘ so far from being a Hardship, that he
 ‘ and all the World must think it a great
 ‘ Kindness done him, and he must be a
 ‘ very weak Man, if he lost the Oppor-
 ‘ tunity of having such a Certainty, when
 ‘ he can’t flatter himself that (whatever
 ‘ happens) he can be supported long in a
 ‘ Place of that Consequence for which he
 ‘ is so unfit. He has no Capacity, no
 ‘ Quality, no Interest, nor ever could have
 ‘ been in that Post, but that every Body
 ‘ knows, my Lord *Rocheſter* cares for no-
 ‘ thing so much as a Man that he thinks
 ‘ will depend upon him. I beg your Ma-
 ‘ jeſty’s Pardon for not waiting upon you,
 ‘ and I perſuade myſelf, that long as my
 ‘ Letter is, it will be leſs troubleſom to
 ‘ your Maſteſty.’

“

It was a Wonder to many, that this Af-
 fair

fair of my Lord *Sunderland's* Promotion met with such Difficulties, considering his Relation to my Lord *Marlborough*, whose Merit with his Queen and Country was every Year augmenting. For, whilst this Matter was in Suspence, he obtained the Victory of *Ramillies*: On which Occasion her Majesty in a Letter dated from *Kensington*, May 17, 1706, told him—— ‘ She
 ‘ wanted Words to exprefs the true Sense
 ‘ she had of the great Service he had done
 ‘ *his Country* and *her*, in that great and
 ‘ glorious Victory, and hoped that it would
 ‘ be a Means to confirm all good and honest
 ‘ People in their Principles, and fright-
 ‘ en others from being troublefom;——and
then spoke, ‘ of the Allay it was to all her
 ‘ Satisfaction, to confider what Hazards he
 ‘ was expofed to,’——and repeated an ob-
bliging Request ſhe had often made, ‘ that he
 ‘ would be careful of himſelf.’ I cannot
 doubt of the Queen’s kind Diſpoſitions to
 my Lord *Marlborough* at this Time, or her
 Willingneſs, in *general*, to oblige him. And
 it quickly appeared that the Difficulties raiſed

ed by her Majesty against parting with Sir *Charles Hedges*, were wholly owing to the Artifice and Management of Mr. *Harley*, the other Secretary of State, whose Interest and secret Transactions with the Queen were then doubtless in their Beginning. This Man had been put into that Post by the Lords *Marlborough* and *Godolphin*, when my Lord *Nottingham* in Disgust resigned it. They thought him a very proper Person to manage the House of Commons, upon which so much always depends: And his Artifices had won upon them so far that they could not be persuaded, but they might securely trust him; till Experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other Parts of his Behaviour) who would have thought that the Man, who had wrote the following Letter on Occasion of Lord *Blandford's* Death, could so soon have been laying Schemes for the Destruction of the Person to whom it was written.

My

MY LORD,

‘ There is no Servant of your Grace’s
 ‘ is more sensibly affected with, I will not
 ‘ call it your Grace’s Loss, but our com-
 ‘ mon Misfortune, than myself. And I
 ‘ wish to God the Part I can bear of it,
 ‘ would discharge your Grace of any of
 ‘ the Burden. I do feel it, that a Limb
 ‘ is torn off ; therefore I think, for the Pre-
 ‘ servation of the Residue, the Blood should
 ‘ be staunch’d, I mean, Grief should be
 ‘ moderated ; Time I know is the best
 ‘ Physician in this Case, but our Necessi-
 ‘ ties require a quicker Remedy. And I
 ‘ doubt not but your Grace’s Greatness of
 ‘ Mind will give what is due to Nature,
 ‘ without taking any Thing from Reason.
 ‘ Be pleas’d to consider that the Nation
 ‘ are your Children, the Publick needs all
 ‘ your Care, how little soever it may de-
 ‘ serve it.

‘ I shall pay my Duty to your Grace,
 ‘ when you will permit me ; in the mean
 ‘ Time I beseech your Pardon for this over-
 ‘ flowing

‘ flowing of my Passion, which is the Ef-
 ‘ fect of the dutiful Affection of,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Your Grace’s most humble

‘ and most obedient Servant,

March 1.
 1703

‘ RO. HARLEY.’

But to return, it is no wonder that Mr. *Harley* with such Views as he then had, should be unwilling to see a Secretary of State displaced, over whom he thought he had some Influence, and through whose Hands the greater part of the Business of his own Office (scandalously neglected by himself) used to pass; and much more unwilling to have him succeeded by a Person over whom he had no Power whatsoever.

As for Sir *Charles Hedges*, when he found how backward the Queen was to dismiss him,

him, he was so prudent as to make a greater Advantage to himself by quitting his Post, than he could have done by holding it. And in the Winter of 1706, Lord *Sunderland* was appointed to succeed him.

But notwithstanding this Point thus carried by the Whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the Queen's Choice of two High-church Divines, to fill two vacant Bishopricks. Several of the Whigs were disposed to think themselves betray'd by the Ministry ; whereas the Truth was, that the Queen's Inclination to the Tories being now sooth'd by the Flatteries and Insinuations of her private Counsellors, had begun to make it irksom to her to consult with her Ministers upon any Promotions, either in the Church or the State. The first Artifice of those Counsellors was, to instil into the Queen Notions of the high Prerogative of *acting without her Ministers*, and (as they expressed it) of being *Queen indeed*. And the Nomination of Persons to Bishopricks against the Judgment and

Remonstrances of her Ministry, being what they knew her Genius would fall in with more readily than with any Thing else they could propose, they began with that; and they took Care that those *Remonstrances* should be interpreted by the World, and represented by herself as hard Usage, a Denial of common Civility, and even *the making her no Queen*.

Her Majesty however to quiet the Dissatisfaction of the Whigs for the late Promotions, ordered her Ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same Assurances with her own Mouth in the Cabinet Council. And she was suffered by her secret Counsellors so far to observe this Promise, as to give, about the same Time, the Bishoprick of *Norwich* to Doctor *Trimnel*; a particular Friend of Lord *Sunderland's*. And she also, some Time after, gave the Professorship of Divinity at *Oxford*, to Doctor *Potter*, the present Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who had Doctor *Smalridge* for his Competitor, recommended

commended by the Tories. But this latter Favour to the Whigs was not so easily obtain'd as the former. And, upon the Delays that were made in bestowing it, my Lord *Marlborough* thought it proper to try what Credit he had with a Queen, whose Glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her Predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving Letter to her, complaining of the visible Loss of his Interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the Promotion she had promised, of the Person recommended by her Ministry, as a faithful Friend to her Government, adding, that the only Way to make her Reign easy, was to be true to that Rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those, who appeared against her Service and the Nation's Interest, &c.—He wrote at the same Time to the same Effect to me, and I wrote to the Queen, and at length by much Solicitation this Matter was obtained, and Doctor *Potter* fixed in the Professorship.

But

But this was only yielding up one small Point, in order to conceal a much greater Design and bring it to Effect, when the Season should be ripe for it. It was about this Time, that the Ministry began to be assured of the secret Practices of Mr. *Harley* against them; and that I discovered the base Returns made me by Mrs. *Masbam*, upon whom I had heaped the greatest Obligations.

The Story of this Lady, as well as of *that Gentleman*, who was her great Adviser and Director, is worth the Knowledge of Posterity, as it will lead them into a Sense of the Instability of Court-favour, and of the incurable Baseness which some Minds are capable of contracting.

Mrs. *Masbam* was the Daughter of one *Hill*, a Merchant in the City, by a Sister of my Father. Our Grandfather, Sir *John Fenyns*, had two and twenty Children, by which Means the Estate of the Family (which was reputed to be about
4000 l.

4000 *l.* a Year) came to be divided into small Parcels. Mrs. *Hill* had only 500 *l.* to her Portion. Her Husband lived very well, as I have been told, for many Years, till turning Projector, he brought Ruin upon himself and his Family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such People in the World, till after the Princess *Anne* was married, and when she lived at the *Cock-pit*; at which Time an Acquaintance of mine came to me and said, *She believed I did not know, that I had Relations who were in Want*, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her Story, I answered, *that indeed I had never heard before of any such Relations*, and immediately gave her out of my Purse ten Guineas for their present Relief, saying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs. *Hill* more Money, and saw her. She told me that her Husband was in the same Relation to Mr. *Harley*, as she was to me, but that he had never done any Thing for her.

I think

I think Mrs. *Masbam*'s Father and Mother did not live long after this. They left four Children, two Sons and two Daughters. The elder Daughter (afterwards Mrs. *Masbam*) was a grown Woman. I took her to St. *Albans*, where she lived with me and my Children, and I treated her with as great Kindness, as if she had been my Sister. After some Time a Bedchamber-woman of the Princess of *Denmark*'s died; and as in that Reign (after the Princesses were grown up) Rockers, though not Gentlewomen, had been advanced to be Bedchamber-women, I thought I might ask the Princess to give the vacant Place to Mrs. *Hill*. At first indeed I had some Scruple about it, but this being removed by Persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the Request to the Princess, and it was granted.

As for the younger Daughter (who is still living) I engaged my Lord *Marlborough*, when the Duke of *Gloucester*'s Family was settled, to make her Laundress
to

to him, which was a good Provision for her. And when the Duke of *Gloucester* died, I obtained for her a Pension of 200 *l.* a Year, which I paid her out of the Privy-Purse. And in some Time after I asked the Queen's Leave to buy her an Annuity out of some of the Funds, representing to her Majesty, that as the Privy-Purse Money produced no Interest, it would be the same Thing to her, if instead of the Pension to Mrs. *Hill*, she gave her at once a Sum sufficient to purchase an Annuity; and that by this Means her Majesty would make a *certain* Provision for one, who had served the Duke of *Gloucester*. The Queen was pleased to allow the Money for that Purchase, and it is very probable that Mrs. *Hill* has the Annuity to this Day, and perhaps nothing else, unless she saved Money after her Sister had made her Deputy to the Privy-Purse, which she did, as soon as she had supplanted me.

The elder Son was, at my Request, put by my Lord *Godolphin* into a Place in the *Cus-*

tom-House; and when, in order to his Advancement to a better, it was necessary to give Security for his good Behaviour, I got a Relation of the Duke of *Marlborough's* to be bound for him in two thousand Pounds.

His Brother (whom the Bottle-men afterwards called *Honest Jack Hill*) was a tall Boy, whom I clothed, (for he was all in Rags) and put to School at *St. Alban's* to one Mr. *James*, who had been an Usher under Dr. *Busby* of *Westminster*. And whenever I went to *St. Alban's* I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own Child. After he had learnt what he could there, a Vacancy happening of Page of Honour to the Prince of *Denmark*, his Highness was pleased, at my Request, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord *Marlborough* to make him Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Duke of *Gloucester*. And though my Lord always said that *Jack Hill* was good for nothing, yet to oblige me, he made him his *Aid de Camp*, and afterwards gave him a *Regiment*. But it was his
Sister's

Sister's Interest that raised him to be a *General*, and to command in that ever memorable Expedition to *Quebec*: I had no Share in doing him these Honours. To finish what I have to say upon his Subject: When Mr. *Harley* thought it useful to attack the Duke of *Marlborough* in Parliament, this *Quebec General*, this *honest Jack Hill*, this *once ragged Boy*, whom I clothed, happening to be sick in Bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his *Sister* to get up, wrap himself in warmer Clothes than those I had given him, and go to the House to vote against the Duke.

I may here add, that even the *Husband* of Mrs. *Masbam* had several Obligations to me. It was at my Instance that he was first made a Page, then a Querry, and afterwards Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince; for all which he himself thank'd me, as for Favours procured by my Means.

As for Mrs. *Masbam* herself, I had so much Kindness for her and had done so

much to oblige her, without having ever done any Thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think her other than a true Friend, or forbear rejoicing at any Instance of Favour shown her by the Queen. I observed indeed at Length that she was grown more shy of coming to me, and more reserved than usual, when she was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar Moroseness of Temper, and for some Time made no other Reflection upon it.

The first Thing, which led me into Enquiries about her Conduct, was, the being told (in the Summer of 1707,) that my Cousin *Hill* was privately married to Mr. *Masbam*. I went to her and asked her if it were true. She owned it was, and begged my Pardon for having concealed it from me. As much Reason as I had to take ill this Reserve in her Behaviour, I was willing to impute it to Bashfulness and Want of Breeding, rather than to any Thing worse. I embraced her with my usual Tenderness,
and

and very heartily wished her Joy ; and then, turning the Discourse, entered into her Concerns in as friendly a Manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with Lodgings, by removing her Sister into some of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her Marriage ; and very innocently offered her my Service, if she needed it, to make that Matter easy. She had by this Time learnt the Art of Diffimulation pretty well, and answered with an Air of Unconcernedness, that the *Bed-Chamber Women* had already acquainted the Queen with it, hoping by this Answer to divert any farther Examination into the Matter. But I went presently to the Queen and asked her, *why she had not been so kind as to tell me of my Cousin's Marriage*, expostulating with her upon the Point, and putting her in Mind of what she used often to say to me out of *Montaigne*, That it was no Breach of Promise of Secrecy to tell such a Friend any Thing, because it was no more than telling it to one's self. All the Answer I could obtain from

her Majesty was this, *I have a hundred Times bid Masham tell it you, and she would not.*

The Conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs. Masham, convinced me that there was some Mystery in the Affair, and there-upon I set myself to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in less than a Week's Time, I discovered, *That my Cousin was become an absolute Favourite ; that the Queen herself was present at her Marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's Lodgings, at which Time her Majesty had called for a round Sum out of the Privy-Purse ; that Mrs. Masham came often to the Queen, when the Prince was asleep, and was generally two Hours every Day in private with her : And I likewise then discovered beyond all Dispute Mr. Harley's Correspondence and Interest at Court by Means of this Woman.*

I was struck with Astonishment at such an Instance of Ingratitude, and should not have *believed*, if there had been any Room left for *doubting*. My

My Lord *Marlborough* was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears by the following Paragraph of a Letter from him, in Answer to one from me on this Subject.

Meldest June 3, 1707.

‘ The wisest Thing is to have to do with
 ‘ as few People as possible. If you are sure
 ‘ that Mrs. *Masbam* speaks of Business to the
 ‘ Queen, I should think, you might with
 ‘ some Caution tell her of it, which would
 ‘ do good. For she certainly must be grate-
 ‘ ful and will mind what you say.’

It became easy now to decypher many Particulars, which had hitherto remained mysterious, and my Reflection quickly brought to my Mind many Passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no Impressions of Suspicion or Jealousy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the Queen, (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret Passage, from my Lodgings to the Bed-Chamber) on a sudden this Woman, not

knowing I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest Air possible, but, upon Sight of me, stopped; and immediately, changing her Manner and making a most solemn Courtesy, *Did your Majesty ring?* And then went out again. This singular Behaviour needed no Interpreter *now*, to make it understood. But, not to dwell on such trifling Incidents, as soon as I had got a thorough Insight into her Management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following Letter.

Sept. 23^d. 1707.

‘ Since the Conversation I had with you
 ‘ at your Lodgings, several Things have
 ‘ happened to confirm me in what I was
 ‘ hard to believe, that you have made me
 ‘ Returns very unsuitable to what I might
 ‘ have expected. I always speak my Mind
 ‘ so plainly, that I should have told you so
 ‘ myself, if I had had the Opportunity
 ‘ which I hoped for. But being now so
 ‘ near parting, think this Way of letting
 ‘ you

‘ you know it is like to be the least uneasy
‘ to you, as well as to

‘ *Your Humble Servant,*

‘ S. MARLBOROUGH.’

Though I was to go to *Woodstock* the next Day, I stayed at *Windsor* almost all the Morning to wait her Answer. But this could not be had so soon, it being necessary to consult with her great Director in so nice a Matter. At Length however an Answer was sent after me, the whole Frame and Stile of which shewed it to be the genuine Product of an artful Man, who knew perfectly well the Management of such an Affair.

Windsor, Sept. 24. 1707.

‘ While I was expecting a Message from
‘ your Grace, to wait upon you according
‘ to your Commands, last Night, I received a Letter which surprizes me no
‘ less than it afflicts me, because it lays a
‘ most

' most heavy Charge upon me, of an un-
 ' grateful Behaviour to your Grace. Her
 ' Majesty was pleased to tell me, that you
 ' was angry with me for not acquainting
 ' you with my Marriage. I did believe
 ' after so generous a Pardon, your Grace
 ' would think no more of that. I am
 ' very confident by the Expression of your
 ' Letter, that some body has told some
 ' malicious Lie of me to your Grace,
 ' from which it is impossible for me to
 ' vindicate myself till I know the Crime I
 ' am accused of. I am sure, Madam,
 ' your Goodness cannot deny me what
 ' the meanest may ask the greatest; I
 ' mean Justice, to know my Accuser.
 ' Without that, all Friendship must be at
 ' the Mercy of every malicious Liar, as they
 ' are, who have so barbarously and unjust-
 ' ly brought me under your Displeasure,
 ' the greatest Unhappiness that could be-
 ' fall me; I therefore make it my most
 ' humble Request to your Grace, that if
 ' ever I had the least Share of your Friend-
 ' ship, you would be pleased to give me
 ' that

‘ that parting Token to let me know who
 ‘ this wicked Person is, and then I do not
 ‘ doubt but I shall make it plain how
 ‘ much they have wronged me, as well
 ‘ as imposed upon your Grace. As my
 ‘ Affliction is very great, you will I hope
 ‘ in Compassion let me hear from you,
 ‘ and believe me what I really am,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your Grace's most humble*

‘ *and faithful Servant,*

‘ A. HILL.

As I believe no body at this Time doubts
 whether the Writer of this Letter was
 practising with the Queen to undermine
 me, I shall make no Reflections upon it.
 My answer to it was in these Terms.

‘ I received your Letter upon the Road
 ‘ to this Place, and I can assure you the
 ‘ Occasion of my Complaints did not pro-
 ‘ ceed

‘ceed from any ill Offices that had been
 ‘done you to me by any body, but from
 ‘my own Observation, which makes the
 ‘Impression much the stronger. But I
 ‘think the Subject is not very proper for
 ‘a Letter, and therefore I must defer it
 ‘till we meet, and give you no farther
 ‘Trouble at this Time from

‘*Your most humble Servant,*

‘S. MARLBOROUGH.

About the same Time that I made this
 Discovery of Mrs. *Masbam's* intriguing, my
 Lord *Godolphin*, (as I before-mentioned)
 got Notice of Mr. *Harley's* Practices both
 within Doors and without. He was en-
 deavouring to create in the Whigs Jealous-
 ies of Lord *Godolphin*, and Lord *Marl-*
borough, and at the same Time assuring the
 Tories, that they might depend upon the
 Queen's inward Affection to *them*; and
 that it was wholly owing to those two great
 Lords that the Tories were not still possessed
 of all the Places and Employments. His
 Design

Design was to ruin the Whigs, by disuniting them from the Ministry, and so to pave the Way for the Tories to rise again; whom he thought to unite in himself, as their Head, after he had made it impossible for them to think of a Reconciliation with the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin*.

But, that this able Politician might in all Things act suitably to his Parts and Genius, he, at the same Time that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the Eyes of those, whose Destruction he aimed at, by the most elaborate Compliments, and the most nauseous Professions of Affection and Duty.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that as mean an Opinion as you have of this Gentleman, you will yet be surprized at his manner of writing to my Lord *Marlborough* and myself. I have picked out of the Letters we had from him, some choice
 Pieces,

Pieces, which I think are real Curiosities, and, when compared with his after Conduct, will serve excellently well towards forming a perfect Idea of his Character.

‘ MADAM,

‘ Though the Advantage the Publick
 ‘ receives from this great and glorious Vic-
 ‘ tory of *Schellenberg* is enough to inspire
 ‘ every one’s Heart with Joy, who loves
 ‘ either the Queen or the Nation, yet I
 ‘ must profess *I have a peculiar Satisfaction*;
 ‘ it enhances the Blessing to *me* by the
 ‘ Hand that wrought it: I should have
 ‘ had a Share in common with the rest of
 ‘ the Nation, if another had performed it:
 ‘ But when the *Duke of Marlborough* is the
 ‘ Author, when our Deliverance, I may
 ‘ call it, is owing to *his* Courage and *his*
 ‘ Conduct: When the *English* Honour is
 ‘ not only retrieved, but carried to so great
 ‘ a Height, I cannot but receive an *addi-*
 ‘ *tional Pleasure*, that it is *done by my Lord*
 ‘ *Duke*. I hope your Grace will forgive
 ‘ this overflowing of Joy, as an Instance
 ‘ of

‘ of the Sincerity and Duty wherewith I
 ‘ shall always endeavour to distinguish my-
 ‘ self,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your Grace’s most humble*

‘ *and most obedient Servant,*

July 3. 1704.

‘ RO. HARLEY.

May 17. 1706.

MY LORD,

‘ Yesterday about Seven in the Evening,
 ‘ Col. *Richards* brought the most accep-
 ‘ table News of the glorious Success your
 ‘ Grace had obtained in attacking the
 ‘ *French* Army ; and at the same Time
 ‘ we are rejoicing for the Victory, we can-
 ‘ not (I mean every good *Englishman*) but
 ‘ be sensibly touched with the Danger all
 ‘ was in, by the Hazard your Grace ex-
 ‘ posed your own Person to ; that Delive-
 ‘ rance enhances the Value of the Victory,
 ‘ con-

' considering how dear it had like to have
 ' cost us: Heaven itself hath preserved
 ' that precious Life, and would not suffer
 ' us to lose your Grace, who was born
 ' for the Delivery of your own Country,
 ' and the Rescue of so many others from
 ' Tyranny and Oppression. Your Grace
 ' does not only triumph over the publick
 ' Enemies, by teaching us how to con-
 ' quer abroad, but you deliver us from our-
 ' selves, and rescue us from that Tyranny
 ' which each Party here would exercise
 ' upon one another: You have again dis-
 ' armed Malice, and though your glori-
 ' ous Actions will encrease Envy, yet the
 ' Lustre of what you have done, will dis-
 ' cover it, and consequently render it im-
 ' potent. May your Grace still go on prof-
 ' perously, the best General, to the best
 ' Queen, and engaged in the best Cause:
 ' And may you live long to enjoy in Peace
 ' the Fruits of your innumerable Hazards
 ' and Toils.

I am

‘ I am with the greatest Duty and
‘ Affection,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ *Your Grace's most humble,*

‘ *and most obedient Servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.’

*May 24, 1706.
June 4,*

MY LORD,

‘ I cannot tell where this Letter will
‘ find your Grace, the Improvements you
‘ make of your glorious Victory are so
‘ stupendous ; you have united the Cha-
‘ racters of *Scipio* and *Hannibal* ; your
‘ Grace knows how to conquer, and how
‘ to improve a Victory to Admiration. A-
‘ mong the Letters which have fallen into
‘ my Hands, there is one to Mr. *D'Allegre*
‘ hath this Article, that the Elector of *Ba-*
‘ *varia* had wrote to his Brother the Elec-
‘ tor of *Cologne*, in these Terms. *Avec*

Q

‘ la

' *la plus belle Armée et la plus florissante et*
 ' *animée J'ay etè battu, Dieu l'a voulu. I*
 ' hear from one I sent to *Calais*, that after
 ' the News of the Victory and the declaring
 ' of *Brussels*, the Mob of *Calais* were very
 ' troublefom in the Town, and had your
 ' Grace's Name continually in their Mouths:
 ' We are assured that an Express was sent
 ' away *May 25. N. St.* to Mr. *Feuillade*, to
 ' offer the Duke of *Savoy* any Terms what-
 ' ever. I doubt not but their Emiffaries
 ' will be bufy also in *Holland* again, but I
 ' wrote last Post to Mr. *Buys*, to caution
 ' him upon that Subject, how neceffary it
 ' was to be very vigilant, &c.

' I am with the greateft Duty and
 ' Affection,

' MY LORD,

' Your Grace's most humble,

' and most obedient Servant,

' RO. HARLEY.

‘ MY LORD,

May 28.
June 8. 1706.

‘ I received this Morning the Honour of
 ‘ your Grace’s Letter of *June 3.* and cannot but observe, with the utmost Pleasure
 ‘ and Satisfaction, the great and wonderful
 ‘ Successes which attend every Day your
 ‘ Grace’s prudent and most valiant Conduct. It is very true, that Victories have
 ‘ been obtained over potent and flourishing
 ‘ Armies formerly. Your Grace gave us
 ‘ two Years since a noble Instance of that,
 ‘ but give me Leave to say, this is not
 ‘ only obtaining a Victory, but wearing of
 ‘ it too; this is improving your own Actions, and outdoing your own Victories,
 ‘ for nothing but you, Sir, can outdo my
 ‘ Lord *Marlborough’s* former Victories.

‘ Your Proceedings are so swift that
 ‘ it is scarce possible with Thought to keep
 ‘ Pace with them; therefore we can only
 ‘ here give Directions at Random, &c.

Q₂

‘ I am

‘ I am with the greatest Duty and Affection,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ *Your Grace’s most humble,*

‘ *and most obedient Servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.

*May 31, 1706.
June 11,*

‘ MY LORD,

‘ What Success, this fortunate raising
‘ of the Siege [of *Barcelona*] will have
‘ upon the Minds of the *Portugueze* I cannot
‘ tell, all sorts of People here are much
‘ exasperated against them ; and *Schonnen-*
‘ *berg* now writes to his Masters, that he
‘ suspects some of those Ministers are in
‘ the Interest of *France* ; and I believe all
‘ of them hope for a Civil War in *Spain*,
‘ of which they will make their Markets.
‘ *But the glorious Things your Grace has done,*
‘ *puts an End to such little Projects. Your*
‘ *Grace does all at once, and the Influence*

‘ of it will be as extensive as the grandeur of
‘ the Action, &c.

‘ I am with the greatest Duty and Af-
‘ fection,

‘ MY LORD,

‘ Your Grace’s most humble,

‘ and most obedient Servant,

‘ RO. HARLEY.

Thursday, Aug. 8. 1706.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I was just going to end this Trouble,
‘ when I was honoured with your Grace’s
‘ Commands, which I shall apply myself
‘ to obey with all imaginable Chearfulness
‘ and Diligence. I cannot think of a Ser-
‘ vant and a Spy, without the utmost Ab-
‘ horrence, and particularly when I find it
‘ levelled at your Grace’s Family, to whom
‘ we all owe so much. I have been often pro-

‘ *voked to see so much publick and private In-
‘ gratitude exercised towards the Duke.*

‘ I shall not omit any Thing which may
‘ tend towards a Discovery of this Villainy ;
‘ and I will not put it into any one’s
‘ Hands, but manage that myself. I beg
‘ your Grace will do me the Honour to be-
‘ lieve me to be, with the utmost Duty,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your Grace’s most humble,*

‘ *and most obedient Servant,*

‘ RO. HARLEY.

Is it not amazing, that a Person, who
could thus extol the Duke of *Marlborough’s*
Services to his Country, speak of his Glory
as beyond the Power of Envy or Malice to
hurt it, and profess to feel such a *peculiar*
Joy in the Contemplation of it ; is it not
amazing, I say, that this very Person
should be at the same Time, contriving
how

how to ruin that glorious Man, in order to raise himself upon his Ruins? The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of such Designs, though it is certain he never had entertained the same good Opinion of him, as my Lord *Godolphin* had, and though, as one may collect from a Paragraph in a Letter of Mr. *Harley's*, dated 25 *March* 1707. the Duke had been early warned of his Practices. The Paragraph contains these Words.

‘ I return your Grace most hearty and
 ‘ humble Thanks for the favourable Ex-
 ‘ pressions in your Letter. I beg Leave to
 ‘ assure you, that *I serve you by Inclination*
 ‘ *and Principle*, and a very little Time will
 ‘ make that manifest, as well as that *I*
 ‘ *have no Views or Aims of my own.*’

The Conduct which Mr. *Harley* observed, after these Assurances, was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that my Lord *Godolphin* could not help representing it to the Queen as of the

utmost Prejudice to her Affairs: And when he found that her Majesty *would believe nothing of it*, he went so far as to say, That if Mr. *Harley* continued to act the Part he did, and yet to have so much Credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord *Marlborough* and himself must of Necessity quit her Service. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and presently wrote a Letter to me, in which were several Expressions of great Kindness.

‘ *Kensington, Oct. the 30th.*

‘ If I have not answered all my dear
 ‘ Mrs. *Freeman*’s Letters (as indeed I should
 ‘ have done) I beg she would not impute it
 ‘ to any Thing but the Apprehensions I was
 ‘ in of saying, what might add to the ill
 ‘ Impressions she has of me. For though I
 ‘ believe we are both of the same Opinion
 ‘ in the Main, I have the Misfortune that
 ‘ I cannot agree exactly in every Thing,
 ‘ and therefore what I say is not thought
 ‘ to have the least Colour of Reason in it,
 ‘ which makes me really not care to enter into
 ‘ Particulars;

‘ Particulars; but though I am unwilling
 ‘ to do it, it is impossible for me to help
 ‘ giving you some Answer to your last Letter,
 ‘ in which I find you think me insensible
 ‘ of every Thing. I am very sorry,
 ‘ you, who have known me so long, can
 ‘ give Way to such a Thought, as that I
 ‘ do not think the parting with my Lord
 ‘ *Marlborough* and my Lord Treasurer of
 ‘ much Consequence, because I did not
 ‘ mention any Thing of my Lord *Marlborough*’s
 ‘ kind Letter concerning me. The
 ‘ Reason of that was, I really was in a
 ‘ great Hurry when I writ to you, and not
 ‘ having Time to write on that Subject to
 ‘ both, I thought it was the most necessary
 ‘ to endeavour to let him see he had no
 ‘ Reason to have Suspicions, of any one’s
 ‘ having Power with me, besides himself
 ‘ and my Lord Treasurer, and I hope they
 ‘ will believe me.

‘ Can dear Mrs. *Freeman* think that I
 ‘ can be so stupid, as not to be sensible of
 ‘ the great Services that my Lord *Marlborough*

‘ *borough* and my Lord Treasurer have done
 ‘ me, nor of the great Misfortune it would
 ‘ be, if they should quit my Service? No,
 ‘ sure, you cannot believe me to be so void
 ‘ of Sense and Gratitude. I never did, nor
 ‘ never will give them any just Reason to
 ‘ forsake me; and they have too much Ho-
 ‘ nour and too sincere a Love for their
 ‘ Country to leave me without a Cause.
 ‘ And I beg you would not add that to my
 ‘ other Misfortunes, of pushing them on
 ‘ to such an unjust and unjustifiable Ac-
 ‘ tion. I think I had best say no more for
 ‘ fear of being too troublesome: But what-
 ‘ ever becomes of me, I shall always pre-
 ‘ serve a most sincere and tender Passion
 ‘ for my dear Mrs. *Freeman* to my last
 ‘ Moment.’

After my Return to *London*, I had ano-
 ther kind Letter from her Majesty in the fol-
 lowing Terms.

Saturday Night.

‘ My dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I cannot go to
 ‘ Bed without renewing a Request that I
 ‘ have

' have often made, that you would banish
 ' all unkind and unjust Thoughts of your
 ' poor, unfortunate, faithful *Morley*, which
 ' I saw by the Glimpse I had of you Yester-
 ' day you were full of. Indeed I do not
 ' deserve them, and if you could see my
 ' Heart, you would find it as sincere, as
 ' tender, and passionately fond of you as
 ' ever, and *as truly sensible of your Kind-*
 ' *ness in telling me your Mind freely upon all*
 ' *Occasions.* Nothing shall ever alter me.
 ' Though we have the Misfortune to differ
 ' in some Things, I will ever be the same
 ' to my dear, dear Mrs. *Freeman*, who I
 ' do assure once more, I am more tenderly
 ' and sincerely hers than it is possible ever
 ' to express.'

I was every Day in Expectation of hear-
 ing from Mrs. *Masbam*, who, I supposed,
 would now endeavour to clear up what had
 created so much Uneasiness between us.
 But, to my great Surprise, I was twelve
 Days at St. *James's* under the same Roof
 with her, before I had so much as any Mes-
 sage

sage from her. At length having one Night past by her Window in my return Home, she sent one of her Maids to my Woman to ask *her* how I did, and to let me know that she was gone to *Kenfington*. This Behaviour was so very ridiculous, that the next Time I saw the Queen I could not forbear speaking of it, and at the same Time telling her all that had past between us. The Queen looked grave and said, *She was mightily in the Right not to come near me*. I answered that I did not understand *that*, since she had expressed such a Concern at my Dupleasure, and since the clearing up of Matters had been reserved to our meeting. The Queen replied, that *it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when she saw I was angry with her*. To this I answered, that *she could have no Reason to be afraid, unless she knew herself guilty of some Crime*. It was the Queen's usual Way on any Occasion, where she was predetermined (and my Lord Marlborough has told me that it was her Father's) to repeat over and over some principal Words she had resolved

to

to use, and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say, *it was very natural, and she was very much in the right.* So that this Conversation with her Majesty produced nothing but an undeniable Proof, that the new Favourite was deeply rooted in her Heart and Affections; and that it was thought more adviseable to let the Breach between me and Mrs. *Masbam* grow wider and wider, than to use any Method to make it up.

But now within two Days, Mrs. *Masbam* contrived to make me a Visit when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our Meeting could be to no Purpose but^a to draw fruitless and false Professions from her, I gave a general Order to my Servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at Home. After some Time, it was thought proper that she should write to me, and desire I would see her; to which I consented, and appointed her a Time. When she came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, the Queen was*
much

much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to any Thing but her secret Management; that I knew she had been very frequently with her Majesty in private, and that the very Attempt to conceal this, by Artifice, from such a Friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill Sign, and enough to prove a very bad Purpose at Bottom. To this she very gravely answered, That she was sure the Queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me. It was some Minutes before I could recover from the Surprize, with which so extraordinary an Answer struck me. To see a Woman, whom I had raised out of the Dust, put on such a superior Air, and to hear her assure me, by Way of Consolation, that the Queen would be always very kind to me! At length I went on to reproach her with her Ingratitude and her secret Management with the Queen to undermine those, who had so long, and with so much Honour served her Majesty. To this she answered, That she never spoke to the Queen about Business, but that she sometimes gave her Petitions, which came

I

to

to the Back-stairs, and with which she knew I did not care to be troubled. And with such insincere Answers she thought to colour over the Matter, while I knew for certain, she had, before this, obtained Pensions for several of her Friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the Privy-Purse, Sums of Money, which the Queen had ordered me to bring her; and that she was, every Day, long with her Majesty in private.

But thus our Conversation ended, and when we had sat awhile silent, she rose up and said, *She hoped I would give her Leave to come sometimes and enquire after my Health*; which however, it is plain, she did not design to do, for she never once came near me after this. Notwithstanding which, when she owned her Marriage publicly, I went with Lady Sunderland to visit her; not that I intended to have any further Intercourse with her, or to dissemble the ill Opinion I had of her (as I had fully resolved to let her *then* know, in case

I found

I found an Opportunity of speaking to her privately) but purely out of Respect to the Queen, and to avoid any Noise or disagreeable Discourse, which my refusing that ordinary Part of Civility might occasion.

Not many Days after this, I went to pay my Respects to the Queen in the *Christmas Holidays*, and before I went in, I learnt from the Page that Mrs. *Masbam* was just then sent for. The Moment I saw her Majesty, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her Intention was, that I should no longer doubt of my Loss of her Affections. Upon observing what Reception I had, I said, *I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably.* I was making my Courtesy to go away, when the Queen, with a great deal of Disorder in her Face, and without speaking one Word, took me by the Hand: And, when thereupon I stooped to kiss her's, she took me up with a very cold Embrace,
and

and then, without one kind Word, let me go. So strange a Treatment of me, after my long and faithful Services, and after such repeated Assurances from her Majesty of an unalterable Affection, made me think that I ought, in Justice to myself, as well as in Regard to my Mistress's Interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest Manner possible, and expostulate with her upon her Change to me and upon the new Counsels, by which she seemed to be wholly governed. My Letter was in these Terms.

December the 27th. 1707.

‘ If Mrs. *Morley* will be so just as to reflect and examine impartially her last Reception of Mrs. *Freeman*, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to see her come in, and sorry when she went away; certainly you can't wonder at her Reproaches, upon an Embrace that seemed to have no Satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the Conversation

R

‘ of

‘ of one, that has the good Fortune to
 ‘ please you much better, though I am sure
 ‘ no Body did ever endeavour it with more
 ‘ Sincerity than Mrs. *Freeman* has done.
 ‘ And if I had considered only my In-
 ‘ terest and that of my Family, I might
 ‘ have born this Change without any Com-
 ‘ plaint. For I believe Mrs. *Morley* would
 ‘ be sincere in doing us any Good. But I
 ‘ have once been honoured with an open,
 ‘ kind Confidence and Trust, and that
 ‘ made all my Service agreeable ; and it is
 ‘ not possible to lose it without a Mortifica-
 ‘ tion too great to be passed with Silence,
 ‘ being sure I have never done any Thing
 ‘ to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor
 ‘ abused that Confidence, by giving you a
 ‘ false Representation of any Body. My
 ‘ Temper is naturally plain and sincere, and
 ‘ Mrs. *Morley* did like it for many Years.
 ‘ It is not in the least altered. But I can’t
 ‘ help thinking those Things reasonable that
 ‘ appear to be so. And I appeal to God Al-
 ‘ mighty, that I never designed or pursued
 ‘ any Thing, but as I was thoroughly con-
 ‘ vinced

'vinced it was for Mrs. *Morley's* true Inter-
 'rest and Honour: And, I think, I may
 'safely put it to that Trial, if any Thing
 'has yet proved unsuccessful, that was of
 'any publick Consequence, that Mrs. *Free-*
 '*man* has been earnest to persuade Mrs.
 '*Morley* to. And it is not possible for me
 'to dissemble so as to appear what I am
 'not.

'So much by Way of Apology for what
 'happened upon *Wednesday* last. And if
 'Mrs. *Morley* has any Remains of the Ten-
 'derness she once professed for her faithful
 '*Freeman*, I would beg she might be treat-
 'ed one of these two Ways, either with
 'the Openness and Confidence of a Friend,
 'as she was for twenty Years; (for to pre-
 'tend Kindness without Trust and Open-
 'ness of Heart is a Treatment for Chil-
 'dren, not Friends;) or else in that Man-
 'ner, that is necessary for the Post she is
 'in, which unavoidably forces her to be
 'often troubling Mrs. *Morley* upon the Ac-
 'count of others. And if she pleases to

‘ chuse which of these Ways, or any other
 ‘ she likes to have Mrs. *Freeman* live in,
 ‘ she promises to follow any Rule that is
 ‘ laid down that is possible, and is resolved
 ‘ to her Life’s End and upon all Occasions
 ‘ to shew, that Mrs. *Morley* never had a
 ‘ more faithful Servant.’

My Lord *Marlborough* or my Lord *Godolphin* (I have forgot which) carried my Letter. The Queen took no Notice of it to either of these Lords. But some Days after she wrote me an Answer, in which she very much softened what had past. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that Disposition ; and once more put on as easy an Appearance as I could.

But in a very short Time after this, the great Breach at Court became public. Lord *Marlborough* and Lord *Godolphin* had often told the Queen in the most respectful Manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any Service, while Mr. *Harley* was in her Confidence. Her Majesty nevertheless
 seemed

seemed determined not to part with him; till at length those two Lords, being urged by Necessity to it, declared their Resolution to serve no longer with him, and they absented themselves from the Council. Mr. *Harley* would have proceeded to Business without them when the Council met, but the Duke of *Somerſet* said, he did not see how it could be to any Purpose, when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present; whereupon the Council immediately broke up. This had such an Effect upon the Queen, that, very soon after, Mr. *Harley* was dismissed from his Post.

Such a Compliance with the Ministers seemed to the Eyes of the World a very great Concession, but was in Truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this Appearance of giving up Mr. *Harley* was with his own Consent and by his own Advice, who, as long as Mrs. *Masham* continued in Favour, would, under Pretence of visiting her (who was his Cousin) have all the Opportunities he could wish for, of

practising upon the Passions and Credulity of the Queen; and the Method of corresponding with him had been settled some Time before. I was fully apprized of all this; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any Influence with ~~her~~ Majesty. She had given me some Encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. *Harley's* Dismission, Lord *Marlborough* resolved to quit the Service, and when on that Occasion I had with Tears (which a tender Concern at the Thought of parting from her Majesty made me shed) represented to her, that if the Duke retired, it would be improper and even impossible for me to stay at Court after him, she declared *that she could not bear the Thought of my leaving her, and that it must never be.* And at that Time she made me a Promise that if ever I should leave her, (*which she again said must never be*) she would bestow my Offices among my Children.

Nay, the *Whigs* had some Reason to flatter themselves about this Time, that
her

her Majesty would become better disposed to them, than she had hitherto been.

The Pretender's Attempt to land in *Scotland*, which happened about this Time, gave her an Alarm, that seemed to bring a Conviction along with it, *that the Whigs were the most to be depended upon for the Support of her Government*; at least what she said in her Answer to the Lords Address, upon the Occasion, had this Appearance. But as the Danger presently blew over, and as her Fears ceased with the Cause of them, so all the Hope, which the Whigs had raised in themselves from those Fears, presently vanished.

However, by the Manner, in which her Majesty wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough*, in a Letter dated *May 6. 1708.* she seems still to have retained a great Degree of Regard for *him*. After complaining to him of being so tired, that Day, with Importunities from *Whigs*, that she had not Spirits left to open her afflicted Heart so freely

and fully as she intended, she goes on to say, she is entirely of his Opinion, thinking it neither for her Honour nor Interest to make Steps (meaning the first Steps) towards a Peace, as the Duke had been prest to do abroad; and assures him, that whatever Insinuations her Enemies might make to the contrary, she would never give her Consent to a Peace, but upon safe and honourable Terms. She begs the Duke to be so just to her, as not to let the Misrepresentations, made of her, have any Weight with him: Adding, that it would be a greater Trouble to her than could be expressed, and concludes with these Words —

‘ I cannot end without begging you to be
 ‘ very careful of yourself, there being no
 ‘ body I am sure that prays more heartily
 ‘ than her, who will live and die most sincerely yours, &c.’

The Campaign of 1708. proved very glorious to the Duke of *Marlborough* by the Victory at *Oudenarde*, the taking of *Lisle*, and the saving of *Brussels*.

Her

Her Majesty, on Occasion of the Victory, wrote the following Letter to him.

Windſor, July the 6th. 1708.

‘ I want Words to expreſs the Joy I
 ‘ have that you are well, after your glorious Succeſs ; for which, next to God Almighty, my Thanks are due to you.
 ‘ And indeed I can never ſay enough for
 ‘ all the great and faithful Services you have
 ‘ ever done me. But be ſo juſt as to believe, I am as truly ſenſible of them as a
 ‘ grateful Heart can be, and ſhall be
 ‘ ready to ſhow it upon all Occaſions. I
 ‘ hope you cannot doubt of my Eſteem
 ‘ and Friendſhip for you, nor think that
 ‘ becauſe I differ with you in ſome Things,
 ‘ it is for want of either : No, I do aſſure
 ‘ you. If you were here, I am ſure you
 ‘ would not think me ſo much in the
 ‘ wrong in ſome Things, as I fear you
 ‘ do now. I am afraid my Letter ſhould
 ‘ come too late to *London*, and therefore
 ‘ dare ſay no more, but that I pray God
 ‘ Almighty to continue his Protection over
 ‘ you,

‘ you, and send you safe home again.
 ‘ And be assured I shall ever be sincerely
 ‘ your

‘ *Humble Servant.*

To this the Duke answered,

July 23. 1708.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I have the Honour of your Majesty’s
 ‘ Letter of the 6th, and am very thankful
 ‘ for all your Goodness to me. And I am
 ‘ sure it will always be my Intention, as
 ‘ well as Duty to be ready to venture my
 ‘ Life for your Service.

‘ As I have formerly told your Majesty
 ‘ that I am desirous to serve you in the
 ‘ Army, but not as a Minister, I am every
 ‘ Day more and more confirmed in that
 ‘ Opinion. And I think myself obliged
 ‘ upon all Accounts, on this Occasion, to
 ‘ speak my Mind freely to you. The Cir-
 ‘ cumstances in this last Battle, I think,
 ‘ shew the Hand of God; for we were
 ‘ obliged

‘ obliged not only to march five Leagues
 ‘ that Morning, but to pass a River before
 ‘ the Enemy, and to engage them before
 ‘ the whole Army was passed, which was
 ‘ a visible Mark of the Favour of Heaven
 ‘ to you and your Arms.

‘ Your Majesty shall be convinced from
 ‘ this Time, that I have no Ambition, or
 ‘ any Thing to ask for myself or Family.
 ‘ But I will end the few Years which I
 ‘ have to live in endeavouring to serve you,
 ‘ and to give God Almighty Thanks for
 ‘ his infinite Goodness to me. But as I
 ‘ have taken this Resolution to myself,
 ‘ give me Leave to say, that I think you
 ‘ are obliged in Conscience, and as a good
 ‘ Christian, to forgive, and to have no more
 ‘ Resentments to any particular Person or
 ‘ Party, but to make use of such as will
 ‘ carry on this just War with Vigor;
 ‘ which is the only way to preserve our
 ‘ Religion and Liberties, and the Crown
 ‘ on your Head. Which that you may
 ‘ long enjoy, and be a Blessing to your
 ‘ People,

‘ People, shall be the constant Wish and
 ‘ Prayer of him, that is with the great-
 ‘ est Truth and Duty,

‘ *Madam, &c.*’

But now, what was very strange, the
 Successes of my Lord *Marlborough* this Year
 seemed rather to lower his Credit with her
 Majesty, than to raise it ; a Thing so ex-
 tremely out of the common Course of Na-
 ture, that no one, I think, can doubt of
 it’s being the pure Effect of Art, the Pro-
 duct of that wonderful Talent Mr. *Harley*
 possessed, in the supreme Degree, of con-
 founding the common Sense of Mankind.

The Duke was perfectly sensible of the
 Change in her Majesty towards him, and
 having complained of it in a Letter to me,
 I sent this Letter to her, inclosed in the
 following one from myself.

‘ I cannot help sending your Majesty
 ‘ this Letter, to shew how exactly Lord
 ‘ *Marlborough*

‘ *Marlborough* agrees with me in my Opi-
 ‘ nion, that he has now no Interest with
 ‘ you : Though when I said so in the
 ‘ Church on * *Thursday*, you were pleased
 ‘ to say it was untrue. And yet I think
 ‘ he will be surprized to hear that when
 ‘ I had taken so much Pains to put your
 ‘ Jewels in a Way that I thought you
 ‘ would like, *Mrs. Masham* could make
 ‘ you refuse to wear them, in so unkind
 ‘ a Manner ; because that was a Power
 ‘ she had not thought fit to exercise be-
 ‘ fore. I will make no Reflections upon
 ‘ it ; only that I must needs observe, that
 ‘ your Majesty chose a very wrong Day
 ‘ to mortify me, when you were just
 ‘ going to return Thanks for a Victory ob-
 ‘ tained by Lord *Marlborough*.

In answer to this, her Majesty was
 pleased to write to me these few Words.

* 19 Aug. 1708.

‘ After

Sunday.

‘ After the *Commands* you gave me on
 ‘ the Thanksgiving Day of not answering
 ‘ you, I should not have troubled you
 ‘ with these Lines, but to return the Duke
 ‘ of *Marlborough’s* Letter safe into your
 ‘ Hands, and for the same Reason do not
 ‘ say any Thing to that, nor to yours
 ‘ which enclosed it.’

Upon receiving so extraordinary a Letter,
 I could not avoid writing again as follows.

‘ I should not trouble your Majesty with
 ‘ any Answer to your last short Letter, but
 ‘ to explain what you seem to mistake in
 ‘ what I said at Church. I desired you
 ‘ not to answer me there for fear of being
 ‘ overheard. And this you interpret as if I
 ‘ had desired you not to answer me at all;
 ‘ which was far from my Intention. For
 ‘ the whole End of my writing to you so
 ‘ often, was to get your Answer to several
 ‘ Things in which we differed, that if I
 ‘ was in the wrong, you might convince
 ‘ me

‘ me of it, and I should very readily have
 ‘ owned my Mistakes. But since you have
 ‘ not been pleased to show them to me, I
 ‘ flatter myself that I have said several
 ‘ Things to you that are unanswerable. And
 ‘ I hope some Time or other you will find
 ‘ Leisure to reflect upon them, and will
 ‘ convince Lord *Marlborough*, that he is
 ‘ mistaken in thinking that he has no Cre-
 ‘ dit with you, by hearkening sometimes to
 ‘ his Advice; and then I hope you will never
 ‘ more be troubled with disagreeable Letters
 ‘ from me: For I should be much better
 ‘ pleased to say and do every Thing you
 ‘ like. But I should think myself want-
 ‘ ing in my Duty to you, if I saw you
 ‘ so much in the Wrong, as without Pre-
 ‘ judice or Passion, I really think you are
 ‘ in several Particulars I have mentioned,
 ‘ and did not tell you of it. And the
 ‘ rather, because no body else cares to speak
 ‘ out upon so ungrateful a Subject. The
 ‘ Word *Command*, which you use at the
 ‘ Beginning of your Letter, is very unfitly
 ‘ supposed to come from me. For though
 ‘ I have

‘ I have always writ to you as a Friend,
 ‘ and lived with you as such for so many
 ‘ Years with all the Truth and Honesty,
 ‘ and Zeal for your Service that was possible,
 ‘ yet I shall never forget that I am
 ‘ your Subject, nor cease to be a faithful
 ‘ one.’

Through the whole Summer after Mr. *Harley*’s Dismission, the Queen continued to have secret Correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry Season, even when the Prince was panting for Breath, in that small House, she had formerly purchased at *Windsor*, which, though as hot as an Oven, was then said to be cool, because from the Park such Persons, as Mrs. *Masbam* had a Mind to bring to her Majesty, could be let in privately by the Garden.

And when upon the Death of the Prince, one would have thought that her Majesty’s real Grief would have made her avoid every Place and every Object that might sensibly

sibly revive the Remembrance of her Loss, she chose for her Place of Retirement his Closet, and for some Weeks, spent many Hours in it every Day. I was amazed at this; and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprized, just like a Person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done, had she duly considered. But the true Reason of her Majesty's chusing this Closet to sit in, was, that the Back-Stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. *Masham's* Lodgings, who by that Means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased.

And that a Correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. *Harley*, became every Day more and more manifest by the Difficulties and Objections which her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost every Thing proposed by her Ministers. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. *Harley* and his Associates, when at length they had compassed their Designs, and got into the Management of Affairs, did often (both in
S their

their Cups and out of them) boast that they, while the Queen's Ministers were asleep, were frequently at Court giving Advice in Secret, how to perplex them in all their Measures.

But they were much mistaken, if they imagined that their Proceedings at the Time I am speaking of, were so entirely covered. The Ministers were fully convinced of the Truth, and frequently represented to her Majesty, what a Discouragement it was to them in their Endeavours for her Service, to find that she had no Confidence in them, but was influenced by the Counsel of others who counterwork'd them in every Instance. Upon this Subject, I myself wrote and spoke a great deal to her with my usual Plainness and Zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no Impression on her in this Respect, but that her Change towards *me* in particular was every Day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and beg'd to know what my Crime was, that had wrought

wrought in her so great an Alteration. This drew from the Queen a Letter, dated *October 26. 1709.* wherein she charges me *with Inveteracy* (as her Word is) *against poor Masham, and with having nothing so much at Heart as the Ruin of my Cousin.* In speaking of the Misunderstandings betwixt her Majesty and me, she says, they are *for nothing that she knows of, but because she cannot see with my Eyes, and hear with my Ears.* And adds, *That it is impossible for me to recover her former Kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me, as the Duke of Marlborough's Wife, and her Groom of the Stole.* This Declaration so plain and express of her Majesty's thorough Change towards me, was the more extraordinary as in this same Letter are these Words, *You have asked me once or twice if you had committed any Fault that I was so changed, and I told you, no; because I do not think it a Crime in any one not to be of my Mind.*

Upon Receipt of this Letter, I immediately set myself to draw up a long Narrative of a Series of faithful Services for about 26 Years past; of the great Sense the Queen formerly had of my Services; of the great Favour I had been honoured with on Account of them; of the Use I had made of that Favour; and of my losing it now by the Artifice of my Enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raised out of the Dust. And knowing how great a Respect her Majesty had for the Writings of certain eminent Divines, I added to my Narrative, the Directions given by the Author of the *Whole Duty of Man* with Relation to Friendship; the Directions in the *Common Prayer Book* before the Communion with Regard to Reconciliation, together with the Rules laid down by Bishop *Taylor* upon the same Head; and I concluded with giving my Word to her Majesty, that if after reading these, she would please only to answer in two Words, that she was still of the same Opinion, as when she wrote that harsh Letter, which occasioned her this Trouble, I would never
more

more give her the least Trouble upon any Subject, but the Business of my Office, as long as I should have the Honour to continue her Servant ; assuring her, that however she might be changed towards me, and how much soever we might still differ in Opinion, I should ever remember that she was my Mistress and my Queen, and should always pay her the Respect due from a faithful Servant and dutiful Subject.

I sent from St. *Alban's* this Narrative, which she promised to read and answer. And ten Days after, writing to me upon another Occasion, she said she had not Leisure yet to read all my Papers, but when she had, she would send me some Answer. But none ever came; nor had my Papers any apparent Effect on her Majesty, except that, after my coming to Town, as she was passing by me, in order to receive the Communion, she looked with much good Nature and very graciously smiled upon me. But the Smile and pleasant Look I had Reason afterwards to think were given to

Bishop *Taylor* and the *Common Prayer Book* and not to me.

In the Beginning of *January* 17 ^{$\frac{2}{10}$} . the Earl of *Essex* died ; and the Queen presently wrote to the Duke of *Marlborough* to give his Regiment to Mr. *Hill*, a Man who had been basely ungrateful to me who raised him ; and whose Sister, Mrs. *Masbam*, the Duke well knew was at this Time undermining the Interest of himself, his Family and Friends.

The Scheme of the Queen's new Counsellors to make her Ministers quit her Service, or engage her to discard them, began now to appear without Disguise. They durst not tell her Majesty at once all they designed, but, proposing to her only one Thing at a Time, led her by insensible Degrees to the Accomplishment of the Whole. They began, as I before observed, with engaging her to nominate Persons to Bishopricks without consulting her Ministers. And now they prevailed with her to appoint
military

military Officers, without advising with her General. And nothing could be more to their Purpose, than this Choice of Mr. *Hill* for Lord *Essex's* Regiment, because they knew that nothing could be more disagreeable to the Duke of *Marlborough*, or would tend more to lessen his Weight and Authority in the Army, and consequently at Home too. The new Counsellors saw that if the Duke readily yielded in this Matter, it would sow Discontent among the Officers, and that a Door would be opened for his Enemies to come into the Army and insult him. And on the other Hand, if the Duke should not comply, or should show any Reluctance in complying, this would furnish an excellent Pretence for grievous Complaints and Outcries, *that the Queen was but a Cypher and could do nothing*. It was indeed by representing her to herself, as a Slave to the *Marlborough* Family, that they worked upon her Passions; while at the same Time (as is too evident) they meant to make her in Reality *their* Slave, to do for them those Drudgeries that would dishonour her,

instead of following the Councils of Ministers, whose Fidelity she had experienced, and who had carried her Glory to the highest Pitch.

Upon this Message from the Queen, the Duke waited upon her, and with all Humility represented to her, what a Prejudice it would be to her Service, to have so young an Officer preferred before so many others of higher Rank and longer Service. Besides, that the shewing so extraordinary and partial Favour to Mrs. *Masbam's* Brother, could be interpreted no otherwise than as a declaring against all those who had so much Reason to be uneasy with her; and that indeed it would be setting up a Banner for all the discontented Persons in the Army to repair to. In short, the Duke said every Thing he could think of, and with all the moving Concern that the Nature of the Affair created in him, to engage her Majesty to change her Resolution. But all seemed to no Purpose. He could not draw one kind Expression from her, nor obtain
any

any Answer, but *that he would do well to advise with his Friends.*

Lord Godolphin spoke often to her upon the same Subject, representing to her the Duke's long, great, and faithful Services, and the very bad Influence which her intended Favour to Mr. *Hill* must necessarily have in the Army. But neither had this so much Effect as to engage her to say one favourable Word about the Duke. On the 15th of *January* therefore he left the Town and went to *Windſor* in great Discontent. It was Council-Day. The Queen did not ask where he was, nor take the least Notice of his Absence. His withdrawing himself made a great Noise in the Town. Many of the Nobility spoke with Earnestness to the Queen of the very ill Consequences of mortifying a Man, who had done her so long and important Services. Her Majesty answered, that his Services were still fresh in her Memory, and that she had as much Kindness for him as ever she had. The Noise however still continued and increased, and
there

there was great Discourse, not without Probability, that some Notice would be taken of the Matter in the House of Commons, and some Votes past disagreeable to her Majesty and her new Counsellors. This Design was laid to my Charge, but I said enough to the Queen to vindicate myself from it. And it was indeed owing to the Duke's particular Friends in the House, that no such Notice was taken.

The new Counsellors being alarmed with Apprehensions of what the Parliament might do, and believing that they should be able at a proper Season to make better Use of the Queen's yielding up the Point, than of her insisting upon it, gave her Advice accordingly: So that, *January* the 20th, she ordered Lord *Godolphin* to write to the Duke, *that he might dispose of the Regiment as he himself thought fit*: And to desire him to come to Town. But before this reached Lord *Marlborough*, he had written the following Letter to the Queen.

‘ MADAM,

‘ MADAM,

‘ By what I hear from *London*, I find
 ‘ your Majesty is pleased to think, that
 ‘ when I have reflected, I must be of Opi-
 ‘ nion, that you are in the right in giving
 ‘ Mr. *Hill* the Earl of *Essex*’s Regiment.
 ‘ I beg your Majesty will be so just to me,
 ‘ as not to think I can be so unreasonable,
 ‘ as to be mortified to the Degree that I
 ‘ am, if it proceeded only from this one
 ‘ Thing ; for I shall always be ready and
 ‘ glad to do every Thing that is agreeable
 ‘ to you, after I have represented what may
 ‘ be a Prejudice to your Service. But this
 ‘ is only one of a great many Mortifica-
 ‘ tions, that I have met with. And as
 ‘ I may not have many Opportunities of
 ‘ writing to you, let me beg of your Ma-
 ‘ jesty to reflect what your own People,
 ‘ and the rest of the World must think,
 ‘ who have been Witnesses of the Love,
 ‘ Zeal and Duty, with which I have served
 ‘ you, when they shall see that after all I
 ‘ have done, it has not been able to protect
 ‘ me against the Malice of a Bed-chamber
 Woman.

‘ Woman. Your Majesty will allow me on
 ‘ this Occasion to re-mind you of what I
 ‘ writ to you the last Campaign, of the
 ‘ certain Knowledge I had of Mrs. *Masbam*’s
 ‘ having assured Mr. *Harley*, that I should re-
 ‘ ceive such constant Mortifications, as should
 ‘ make it impossible for me to continue in
 ‘ your Service. God Almighty and the
 ‘ whole World are my Witnesses, with
 ‘ what Care and Pains I have served you
 ‘ for more than twenty Years, and I was
 ‘ resolved, if possible, to have struggled with
 ‘ the Difficulties to the End of this War.
 ‘ But the many Instances I have had of
 ‘ your Majesty’s great Change to me, has
 ‘ so broke my Spirits, that I must beg as
 ‘ the greatest and last Favour, that you
 ‘ will approve of my retiring, so that I
 ‘ may employ the little Time I have to
 ‘ live, in making my just Acknowledg-
 ‘ ments to God, for the Protection he has
 ‘ been pleased to give me. And your
 ‘ Majesty may be assured that my Zeal
 ‘ for you and my Country is so great, that
 ‘ in my Retirement I shall daily pray for
 your

‘ your Prosperity, and that those, who
 ‘ shall serve you as faithfully as I have
 ‘ done, may never feel the hard Return
 ‘ that I have met with.

The Queen wrote him an Answer, expressing some Concern at several Parts of his Letter, assuring him, without entring into Particulars, that he had no Ground for Suspensions, and desiring him to come to Town.

But fearing at the same Time that some Motion might be made in Parliament against Mrs. *Maskeam*, which might be attended with very disagreeable Consequences, she sent about in much Concern, to many Persons to stand by her, as if some great Attack were going to be made upon her. This Application and the Closetting some Persons, who were known Enemies to the Revolution, gave Encouragement to the *Jacobites*; several of whom were now observed running to Court with Faces full of Business and Satisfaction, as if they were
 2 going

going to get the Government into their Hands. And this being represented to the Queen, as a kind of Victory gained by her over the *Marlborough* Family, was doubtless one Means of hindering all Thoughts of a real Accommodation.

In about a Month after this, both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen, to order the Duke of *Marlborough* over into *Holland*, to attend to the great Affair of a Peace, (towards which there were then some Overtures) and in Case that Project did not take Effect, to prepare for an early Opening the Campaign.

The Queen in her Answer to that Address used these Words.—‘ I am very glad
 ‘ to find by this Address, that you concur
 ‘ with me in a just Sense of the Duke of
 ‘ *Marlborough*’s eminent Services.’

But notwithstanding this, he had not been long gone, before her Majesty gave a signal Proof how much his declared Enemies

mies were in her Favour, by granting Mr. *Hill* a Pension of 1000 *l.* a Year. (And in some Time, she made both him and Mr. *Masbam* (Men of little or no Service) General Officers, over the Heads of many brave Men, who had frequently hazarded their Lives in her Service, and had gone through the Toils and Hardships of a tedious War.)

In the mean Time, as to myself, I learnt that the Queen was made to believe, that I often spoke of her in Company disrespectfully. As I knew myself wholly free from the Guilt of this Charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited on her Majesty the 3d of *April* 1710. and begged of her, that she would be pleased to give me a private Hour, because I had something which I was very desirous of saying to her Majesty, before I went out of Town. I named three several Hours, in which I knew the Queen used to be alone, but she refused them all, in a very unusual and surprizing Manner: And at last she herself appointed 6 o'Clock the next

1

Day,

Day, the Hour for Prayers, when she could least of all expect to be at Leisure for any particular Conversation. But even this small Favour, though promised, was not thought adviseable to be granted by her new Counsellors. For, that Night, she wrote a Letter to me, in which she desired me *to lay before her in Writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself in going into the Country as soon as I could.* I took the first Opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and used all the Arguments I could to obtain a private Hour; alledging, that when her Majesty should hear what I had to say, she would herself perceive it impossible to put Things of that Nature into Writing; that I was now going out of Town for a great while, and perhaps should never have Occasion to give her a like Trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refused it several Times in a Manner hard to be described, but at last appointed the next Day after Dinner. Yet upon farther Consideration it was thought adviseable to break this Appointment: For, the next Morning, she wrote to me to let
me

me know, *that she should dine at Kensington, and that she once more desired me to put my Thoughts into Writing.*

To this I wrote an Answer, begging that her Majesty would give me Leave to follow her to *Kensington* ; and, that she might not apprehend a greater Trouble than she would receive, I assured her Majesty, that what I had to say, would not create any Dispute or Uneasiness, (it relating only to the clearing myself from some Things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my Charge,) and could have no Consequence, either in obliging her Majesty to answer, or to see me oftener than would be easy to her : Adding, that if that Afternoon were not convenient, I would come every Day and wait till her Majesty would please to allow me to speak to her. Upon the sixth of *April* I followed this Letter to *Kensington*, and by that Means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The Page who went in to acquaint the

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Queen,

Queen, that I was come to wait upon her, staid longer than usual; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give Time to deliberate whether the Favour of Admission should be granted, and to settle the Measures of Behaviour if I were admitted. But at last he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entring the Queen said, she was just going to write to me. And, when I began to speak, she interrupted me four or five Times with these repeated Words, ‘ *Whatever you have to say, you may put it in writing.*’ I said, her Majesty never did so hard a Thing to any, as to refuse to hear them speak, and assured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the Subject which I knew to be so ungrateful to her, but that I could not possibly rest, till I had cleared myself from some particular Calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to speak (though the Queen turned away her Face from me) and to represent my hard Case; that there were those about her Majesty, who had made her believe that I had said Things of
her,

her, which I was no more capable of saying than of killing my own Children ; that I seldom named her Majesty in Company, and never without Respect, and the like. The Queen said, *without doubt there were many Lies told.* I then begged, in order to make this Trouble the shorter, and my own Innocence the plainer, that I might know the Particulars of which I had been accused. Because, if I were guilty, that would quickly appear ; and if I were innocent, this Method only would clear me. The Queen replied, that *she would give me no Answer*, laying hold on a Word in my Letter, That what I had to say in my own Vindication, *would have no Consequence in obliging her Majesty to answer*, &c. which surely did not at all imply, that I did not desire to know the particular Things laid to my Charge, without which it was impossible for me to clear myself. This I assured her Majesty was all I desired, and that *I did not ask the Names of the Authors or Relators of those Calumnies*, saying all that I could think

reasonable, to inforce my just Request. But the Queen repeated again and again the Words she had used, without ever receding. And it is probable that this Conversation had never been consented to, but that her Majesty had been carefully provided with those Words, as a Shield to defend her against every Reason I could offer. I protested to her Majesty, that I had no Design, in giving her this Trouble, to solicit the Return of her Favour, but that my sole View was to clear myself ; which was too just a Design to be wholly disappointed by her Majesty. Upon this, the Queen offered to go out of the Room, I following her, and begging Leave to clear myself; and the Queen repeating over and over again, *you desired no Answer, and shall have none.* When she came to the Door, I fell into great Disorder ; Streams of Tears flow'd down against my Will, and prevented my speaking for some Time. At length I recovered myself, and appealed to the Queen, in the Vehemence of my Concern, whether I might not still have been happy in her

Majesty's Favour, if I could have contradicted or dissembled my real Opinion of Men, or Things? Whether I had ever, during our long Friendship, told her one Lie, or play'd the Hypocrite once? Whether I had offended in any Thing, unless in a very zealous pressing upon her, that which I thought necessary for her Service and Security? I then said I was informed by a very reasonable and credible Person about the Court, that Things were laid to my Charge, of which I was wholly incapable; that this Person knew that such Stories were perpetually told to her Majesty to incense her, and had beg'd of me to come and vindicate myself; that the same Person had thought me of late guilty of some Omissions towards her Majesty, being entirely ignorant how uneasy to her my frequent Attendance must be, after what had happened between us. I explained some Things which I had heard her Majesty had taken amiss of me, and then with a fresh Flood of Tears, and a Concern sufficient to move Compassion

even where all Love was absent, I begged to know what other Particulars she had heard of me, that I might not be denied all Power of justifying myself. But still the only Return was, *You desired no Answer, and you shall have none.* I then begged to know if her Majesty would tell me some other Time? — *You desired no Answer, and you shall have none.* I then appealed to her Majesty again, if she did not herself know that I had often despised Interest in Comparison of serving her faithfully and doing right? And whether she did not know me to be of a Temper incapable of disowning any Thing which I knew to be true? — *You desired no Answer, and you shall have none.* This Usage was so severe, and these Words, so often repeated, were so shocking (being an utter Denial of common Justice to one who had been a most faithful Servant, and now asked nothing more) that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful Thing I ever spoke to the Queen in my Life, and yet, what such an Occasion and such Circumstances might well

well excuse, if not justify. And that was, that *I was confident her Majesty would suffer for such an Instance of Inhumanity.* The Queen answer'd, *That will be to myself.* Thus ended this remarkable Conversation, the last I ever had with her Majesty. I shall make no Comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much soever she might be blinded or misguided. But in a Letter, which I had from the Duke of *Marlborough*, about eight Months before, there is something so pertinent to the present Occasion, that I cannot forbear transcribing the Passage.

‘ *Aug. 26. 1709.*

—‘ It has always been my Observation
 ‘ in Disputes, especially in that of Kindness
 ‘ and Friendship, that all Reproaches, tho’
 ‘ ever so just, serve to no End but making
 ‘ the Breach wider. I cannot help being of
 ‘ Opinion, that however insignificant we
 ‘ may be, there is a Power above, that puts
 ‘ a Period to our Happiness or Unhappiness.
 ‘ If any Body had told me, eight Years ago,

‘ that after such great Success, and after
 ‘ you had been a faithful Servant 27 Years,
 ‘ that even in the Queen’s Life-time, we
 ‘ should be obliged to seek Happiness in a
 ‘ retired Life, I could not have believed
 ‘ that possible.’

I never saw the Queen after the Interview I have been speaking of, nor ever had any Correspondence with her, except on two Occasions relating to the Publick, one of which I shall now mention, because it was the very next Day after our parting. I received a Letter from Lord *Marlborough*, with one enclosed to Lord *Godolphin*, who was then at *New-market*, and whose Letters, at such Times, and when Dispatch was required, I had the Privilege to open. In this Letter the Duke gave Lord *Godolphin* an Account of a Man then coming to *England*, who, as Prince *Eugene* informed him, had been guilty of many vile Practices at *Vienna*, and was a very great Villain, desiring that he might not be admitted to see the Queen, but be immediately

ately sent out of *England*. Hereupon I wrote a Letter to her Majesty, in which, after saying that I thought it my Duty to impart to her without Delay what so nearly concerned her, I added, that I could not forbear taking Notice of the Usage I had met with, the Day before, when I waited upon her ; and when my only Business was to beg to be heard on a Point that touched me very sensibly, in order to clear myself from what had been laid to my Charge, if I were innocent ; or to beg Pardon, if in any Thing I had done amiss.

All the Answer I received to this Letter was in these few Words, dated from *Kensington*.

‘ I received yours, with one enclosed
 ‘ from the D. of *M.* to Lord Treasurer,
 ‘ just as I was coming down Stairs from
 ‘ St. *James’s*, so could not return the en-
 ‘ closed back, till I came to this Place.’

But

But notwithstanding this thorough Alienation of the Queen's Affections from me, I was not yet divested of my Employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who should succeed me, nor whether it were proper, that Lord *Marlborough* should have that Mortification, before the Season was fully ripe for the Execution of the new Scheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards Maturity by the Business of *Sacheverel*, which had engaged the Attention of the Nation for the greater Part of the last Winter. Every Body knows that whole Story, and the terrible Cry that was raised about the Danger of the Church, from the Attempt that was made in a Parliamentary Way, to punish an ignorant, impudent Incendiary, a Man who was the Scorn even of those, who made Use of him as a Tool. I shall only observe that the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, who had voted for the Acquittal of that scurrilous Declaimer against the Queen's Ministers, was, in about three Weeks after, appointed Lord Chamberlain by her Majesty.

When

When the Queen had resolved to make this Step, she thought fit to write to my Lord *Godolphin*, then at *New-Market*, to acquaint him with her Resolution, and that she hoped she should have his Approbation in this and all her Actions. The Answer which he returned to her Majesty is so great a Proof of his honest Heart and clear Understanding, and of the Injustice of those Whigs, who did not scruple to call in Question his Zeal and even his Sincerity in their Cause, that I think it is but discharging a Debt I owe to his Memory, to give a Copy of his Letter.

' New-Market April 15, 1710.

' I have the Honour of your Majesty's
' Letter of the 13th, by which I have the
' Grief to find that what you are pleased to
' call Spleen in my former Letter, was on-
' ly a true Impulse and Conviction of
' Mind, that your Majesty is suffering your-
' self to be guided to your own Ruin and
' Destruction, as fast as it is possible for
' them to compass it, to whom you seem
' so much to hearken. I am

‘ I am not therefore so much surprized,
 ‘ as concerned at the Resolution, which
 ‘ your Majesty says you have taken, of
 ‘ bringing in the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. For
 ‘ when People began to be sensible it would
 ‘ be difficult to persuade your Majesty to
 ‘ dissolve a Parliament, which, for two
 ‘ Winters together, had given you above six
 ‘ Millions a Year for the Support of a War,
 ‘ upon which your Crown depends; even
 ‘ while that War is still subsisting, they
 ‘ have had the Cunning to contrive this
 ‘ Proposal to your Majesty, which in it’s
 ‘ Consequence will certainly put you under
 ‘ a Necessity of breaking the Parliament,
 ‘ though contrary (I yet believe) to your
 ‘ Mind and Intention.

‘ I beg your Majesty to be persuaded, I
 ‘ do not say this out of the least Prejudice
 ‘ to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. There is no
 ‘ Man of whose Capacity I have had a bet-
 ‘ ter Impression; nor with whom I have
 ‘ lived more easily and freely for above
 ‘ twenty Years. Your Majesty may please
 ‘ to

to remember, that at your first coming to the Crown, I was desirous he should have had one of the chief Posts in your Service; and it would have been happy for your Majesty and the Kingdom, if he had accepted that Offer: But he thought fit to decline it, and the Reasons generally given at that Time for his doing so, do not much recommend him to your Majesty's Service. But I must endeavour to let your Majesty see Things as they really are. And to bring him into your Service and into your Business at this Time, just after his being in a publick open Conjunction in every Vote with the whole Body of the Tories, and in a private, constant Correspondence and Caballing with Mr. *Harley* in every Thing, what Consequence can this possibly have, but to make every Man that is now in your Cabinet Council, except

to run from it as they

would from the Plague. And I leave it to your Majesty to judge, what Effect this entire Change of your Ministers will have

among

‘ among your Allies Abroad, and how well
 ‘ this War is like to be carried on, in their
 ‘ Opinion, by those who have all along op-
 ‘ posed and obstructed it, and who will
 ‘ like any Peace the better, the more it
 ‘ leaves *France* at Liberty, to take their
 ‘ Time of imposing the *Pretender* upon this
 ‘ Country.

‘ These Considerations must certainly
 ‘ make *Holland* run immediately into a se-
 ‘ parate Peace with *France*, and make your
 ‘ Majesty lose all the Honour, and all the
 ‘ Reputation your Arms had acquired by
 ‘ the War; and make the Kingdom lose
 ‘ all the Fruits of that vast Expence which
 ‘ they have been at in this War, as well as
 ‘ all the Advantage and Safety which they
 ‘ had so much Need of, and had so fair a
 ‘ Prospect of obtaining by it. And can any
 ‘ Body imagine that after so great a Disap-
 ‘ pointment to the Kingdom, there will not
 ‘ be an Enquiry into the Causes of it; and
 ‘ who have been the Occasion of so great
 ‘ a Change in your Majesty’s Measures
 ‘ and

' and Counfels, which had been fo long
 ' fuccefsful, and gotten you fo great a
 ' Name in the World ? I am very much
 ' afraid your Majefty will find, when it is
 ' too late, that it will be a pretty difficult
 ' Task for any Body to ftand againft fuch
 ' an Enquiry. I am fure if I did not think
 ' all thefe Confequences inevitable, I would
 ' never give your Majefty the Trouble and
 ' Uneafinefs of laying them before you.
 ' But, perfuaded as I am that your Majefty
 ' will find them fo, it is my indifpenfable
 ' Duty to do it out of pure Faithfulnefs and
 ' Zeal for your Majefty's Service and Ho-
 ' nour. Your Majefty's having taken a Re-
 ' folution of fo much Confequence to all
 ' your Affairs both at Home and Abroad,
 ' without acquainting the Duke of *Marl-*
 ' *borough* or me with it, till after you had
 ' taken it, is the leaft Part of my Mortifi-
 ' cation in this whole Affair. Though per-
 ' haps the World may think the long and
 ' faithful Services we have constantly and
 ' zealoufly endeavoured to do your Majefty,
 ' might have deferved a little more Confide-
 ' ration.

' ration. However for my own Part, I
 ' most humbly beg Leave to assure your
 ' Majesty, I will never give the least Ob-
 ' struction to your Measures, or to any
 ' Ministers you shall please to employ. And
 ' I must beg further, to make two humble
 ' Requests to your Majesty, The one, that
 ' you will allow me to pass the Remainder
 ' of my Life always out of *London*, where
 ' I may find most ease and Quiet. The
 ' other, that you would keep this Letter
 ' and read it again about next *Christmas*,
 ' and then be pleased to make your own
 ' Judgment, who hath given you the best
 ' and most faithful Advice,

' *I am, &c.*'

I think it is pretty plain from the Queen's
 Letter, to which, what I have just now
 given, was an Answer, that her new Coun-
 sellors did not open their whole Scheme to
 her at once. For if they had, they cer-
 tainly could never have engaged her to tell
 my Lord *Godolphin*, that *she hoped he would*
approve of all her Actions. But they judged
 wisely

wisely, that passing on under their Direction from one Step to another, she would quickly come to a desperate Necessity of going as far as they themselves wished.

About the Beginning of *June*, the Design of turning out Lord *Sunderland* began to be talked of. Lord *Marlborough* was now Abroad at the Head of the Army.

As soon as the News of this Design reached him, he wrote a very moving Letter to the Queen, representing the very ill Consequences it would necessarily have upon all Affairs Abroad, to have his Son-in-Law, against whose Fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the Allies had so entire a Confidence, turned out of her Service in the Middle of a Campaign; and begging it as a Reward of all his past Services, that she would at least delay her Resolution till the Campaign was ended. I was likewise urged by some Friends to try to say something to divert if possible such a Stroke; because it was given out that

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the Queen would do this chiefly on my Account, that I might feel the Effects of her Displeasure in so sensible and tender a Point. No Consideration proper to myself, could have induced me to trouble the Queen again, after our last Conversation. But I was overcome by the Consideration of Lord *Marlborough*, Lord *Sunderland* and the publick Interest, and wrote in the best Manner I could to the Queen, *June 7, 1710.* begging, for Lord *Marlborough's* Sake, that she would not give him such a Blow, of which I dreaded the Consequence, putting her in mind of her Letter about the Duke upon the Victory at *Blenheim*; and adding the most solemn Assurances, that I had not so much as a Wish to remove Mrs. *Masbam*, and that all the Noise which had been about an Address for that Purpose, had been occasioned by Lord *Marlborough's* Discontents at that Time, which most People thought were just. To this the Queen wrote a very short and harsh Answer, complaining that I had broke my Promise of not saying any Thing of Politicks, or
of

of Mrs. *Masbam*; and concluding, that it was plain from this ill Usage what she was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own Vindication, to write a second Letter, in which I assured her Majesty, that I should not have troubled her with the first, but that I heard it reported, that the Persecution, begun against Lord *Marlborough* and his Family, was chiefly occasioned by her Majesty's Displeasure and Aversion to me, as having promoted an Address against Mrs. *Masbam*; that it was only to vindicate myself from that Aspersion, that I had presumed to trouble her; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an Offence, to vindicate myself from what was now made the Pretence for turning out Lord *Sunderland*, and pushing Lord *Marlborough* to Extremities; that I had no Reason to think, that the assuring her Majesty, that I would never have any Hand in any Thing against Mrs. *Masbam*, could have been construed as an ungrateful speaking about her, or called a Continuation of ill Usage;

that I thought this was rather a complying with her Majesty's Inclination, and saying what she could not but approve; that all the Politicks in my Letter was my Concern for Lord *Marlborough*; making it at last my most earnest Request, that her Majesty would only defer the Blow till the End of the Campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my Knees, and left her Majesty to judge whether, after such an Expression, it was likely that I should ever enter into any Thing that could displease her.

Whether my interfering in this Matter hastened the Execution of the Design, I cannot say. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for Lord *Sunderland* was presently after dismissed from his Office. On which Occasion several great Men, who wished well to their Country, and who feared that my Lord *Marlborough* might in Disgust quit the Service, immediately wrote him a joint Letter, which I shall here insert, in Honour both of them and of the Duke.

June 14, 1710.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ We should not have given your Grace
 ‘ the Trouble of this joint Letter, but for
 ‘ the great Concern and Uneasiness in which
 ‘ we find you, on Account of my Lord
 ‘ *Sunderland*, by your Letter of the 20th
 ‘ to my Lord Treasurer, which he has com-
 ‘ municated to us. That Letter, as mov-
 ‘ ing and as reasonable as it was, has not
 ‘ hindered the Seals from being taken this
 ‘ Morning from my Lord *Sunderland*. No
 ‘ Wonder then if the utmost Endeavours
 ‘ which could be used to prevent it, and
 ‘ the strong Arguments which have been
 ‘ made of the ill Consequences, that must
 ‘ attend such Steps both at Home and A-
 ‘ broad have met with so little Success. We
 ‘ find ourselves so much afflicted with this
 ‘ Misfortune, that we cannot but be ex-
 ‘ tremely sensible of the great Mortification
 ‘ this must give you at this critical Junc-
 ‘ ture, when you are every Moment ha-
 ‘ zarding your Life in the Service of your

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‘ Country,

' Country, and whilst the Fate of *Europe*
 ' depends in so great a Degree on your Con-
 ' duct and good Success: But we are also as
 ' fully convinced that it is impossible for your
 ' Grace to quit the Service at this Time,
 ' without the utmost Hazard to the whole
 ' Alliance. And we must therefore conjure
 ' you by the Glory you have already ob-
 ' tained, by the many Services you have
 ' done your Queen and Country, by the
 ' Expectation you have justly raised in all
 ' *Europe*, and by all that is dear and tender
 ' to you at Home, whose chief Depen-
 ' dence is upon your Success, that you
 ' would not leave this great Work unfinish-
 ' ed, but continue at the Head of the
 ' Army. This we look upon as the most
 ' necessary Step that can be taken to pre-
 ' vent the Dissolution of this Parliament.
 ' Your Grace's Compliance with this our
 ' earnest Request would be the greatest Ob-
 ' ligation to us, and all that wish well to
 ' our Country. And you may depend up-
 ' on it, that the contrary will be the greatest
 ' Satisfaction to your Enemies. We are,
 ' my

‘ my Lord, your Grace’s most humble and
 ‘ obedient Servants,

‘ COWPER C.
 ‘ GODOLPHIN.
 ‘ SOMERS.
 ‘ NEWCASTLE.
 ‘ DEVONSHIRE.
 ‘ ORFORD.
 ‘ HALLIFAX.
 ‘ H. BOYLE.’

The Removal of my Lord *Sunderland*, who was so nearly allied to the Duke of *Marlborough*, as it had an immediate Effect on the Funds and the publick Credit at Home, so it gave an Alarm to all the Courts concerned in the grand Alliance ; an Event, which brought the Queen’s private Counsellors under a fresh Necessity of deceiving her, and engaging her to promise what they had determined she should not perform. For not only the strongest Assurances were given here, that there was no Thought of any other Changes, but Mr. Secretary *Boyle* had Orders from the Queen

to write to the foreign Courts in her Name, and assure them, that all their Fears were groundless, and that she would continue the Administration of her Affairs in the Hands of her present Ministry, of whose Abilities she had had so long Experience. And yet in less than two Months after this, and even the very Day after the Queen had expressed her Desire to my Lord *Godolphin* himself, that he would continue in her Service, she dismissed him; and her Letter of Order to him to break his Staff, was sent by no worthier a Messenger than a Man in Livery, to be left with his Lordship's Porter. A Proceeding which in all it's Parts would remain very unaccountable, if the Queen herself had not, to those who expostulated with her, made this undoubtedly true Declaration, *That she was sorry for it, but could not help it.* Unhappy Necessity! that urged her to dismiss a Minister of my Lord *Godolphin's* experienced Abilities and Integrity, and to put into his Place a Person, whom I indeed should be at a Loss to describe, but of whom a Friend of mine,
many

many Years ago, drew the following just Character.

‘ He was a cunning and a dark Man,
 ‘ of too small Abilities to do much Good,
 ‘ but of all the Qualities requisite to do
 ‘ Mischief, and to bring on the Ruin and
 ‘ Destruction of a Nation. This mischie-
 ‘ vous Darknefs of his Soul was written in
 ‘ his Countenance, and plainly legible in
 ‘ a very odd Look, disagreeable to every
 ‘ Body at first Sight, which being joined
 ‘ with a constant, aukward Motion or ra-
 ‘ ther Agitation of his Head and Body,
 ‘ betrayed a turbulent Dishonesty within,
 ‘ even in the midst of all those familiar
 ‘ Airs, jocular bowing and smiling, which
 ‘ he always affected, to cover what could
 ‘ not be covered. He had long accustomed
 ‘ himself so much to dissemble his real In-
 ‘ tentions, and to use the ambiguous and
 ‘ obscure Way of speaking, that he could
 ‘ hardly ever be understood when he de-
 ‘ signed it, or be believed, when he never
 ‘ so much desired it. His natural Temper
 ‘ led

' led him to so expensive and profuse a
 ' Way of Living, that he had brought
 ' himself into great Necessities, though he
 ' had long enjoyed the Advantages of very
 ' great and profitable Posts. One principal
 ' and very expensive Piece of his Art, in
 ' which he seems to have excelled all that
 ' went before him, was, to have in Pay a
 ' great Number of Spies of all Sorts, to
 ' let him into what was passing in all consi-
 ' derable Families. It was remarkable,
 ' that when he came most into Favour
 ' with the Queen, he was perhaps the
 ' only Man, in whose Ruin the two con-
 ' tending Parties would have united, as
 ' one in whom there was no Foundation
 ' to repose any Confidence. And that
 ' when he came to have the greatest Pow-
 ' er with the Queen, he had lost all Credit
 ' every where else.

The same Necessity which forced her
 Majesty to dismiss my Lord *Godolphin* from
 her Service, rendered her irreconcilable to
 me, though by Means of one Person at

Court, who happened to be in good Favour with her, I made all possible Attempts to remove her unjust Prejudices against me. I wrote to him long and plain Accounts of what had past, justifying myself, and exposing the Ingratitude as well as Malice of my Enemies : All which Accounts he read to the Queen, but without any Effect upon her. She said not a Word to any of these Representations, except one, wherein I had set forth the Faithfulness and Frugality, with which I had served her in my Offices ; and had complained of the Attempts made by the Agents of her new Friends to vilify me, all over the Nation, as one who had cheated my Mistress of vast Sums of Money. Her Majesty, on this Occasion, was pleased to say, *Every body knows, cheating is not the Dutcheffs of Marlborough's Crime.*

The same Person, to try the Queen further, mentioned my coming to Court, as what might be proper, on Account of some *new Clothes*, which, as Groom of the Stole,

Stole, I had by her Majesty's Order bought for her. But she presently charged him to advise me, as from himself, not to come. And when after a very successful Campaign, the Duke of *Marlborough* was returned to *London*, the Queen most readily accepted the Resignation, which he carried her from me, of my Offices. The Dutchess of *Somerſet* was made Groom of the Stole, and had the Robes ; and Mrs. *Mafham* had the Privy-Purse.

The Duke of *Marlborough*, notwithstanding an infinite Variety of Mortifications, by which it was endeavour'd to make him resign his Commiſſion, (that there might be a Pretence to raiſe an Outcry againſt him, as having quitted his Queen's and his Country's Service, meerly becauſe he could not govern in the Cabinet, as well as in the Field) continued to ſerve yet another Campaign. All his Friends here (moved by a true Concern for the public Welfare) preſſed him to it, the Confederates called him with the utmoſt Importunity,

Importunity, and Prince *Eugene* intreated him to come with all the Earnestness and Passion that could be expressed. He went; but his Authority was now diminished, and his Forces weaken'd, many of his best Regiments being drawn off, some to go moulder away in *Spain*, and others to be sacrificed in the wild Expedition to *Quebec*. On the other Hand the *French* had regained a Spirit by the Proceedings of their Friends here; and they seemed to think themselves secure now of bringing Disgrace upon a General, who had so often humbled *them*, and whose very Name had been among them for many Years a sound of Terror. His masterly Conduct, and his surprizing Success, disappointed the Hopes, both of our foreign and domestick Enemies. The latter seem'd to repent that they had permitted him to make this Campaign; the happy Event of which must unavoidably render a Peace with *France*, upon *French* Conditions, the more infamous. Yet a Peace was so necessary to the Preservation of the new Minister's Power, that it must be
had

had at any rate. And in order to it, the Confidence of the *French* King must be gained. This Confidence could never be hoped for, so long as the Duke of *Marlborough* was at the Head of the Army. And therefore, as all the Arts of Malice and Detraction had proved ineffectual to make him resign his Post, it was become necessary to remove him from it. But what plausible Pretence to remove so able and so successful a General, while the War was, in Appearance, still subsisting? A frivolous and groundless Complaint in Parliament about certain Perquisites he had claimed, as belonging to his Station, must serve the Turn. The Queen, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing against him by the *Commissioners of Accounts*, was pleased to say, *She was sure her Servants* [her new Ministers] *would not encourage such Proceedings*. Nevertheless, in a very short Time, her Majesty, once more pressed by an irresistible Necessity, made use of that very Complaint as a Reason for dismissing him from all his Employments.

To

To the Queen's Letter, importing this Dismission, the Duke returned the following Answer.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I am very sensible of the Honour
 ‘ your Majesty does me in dismissing me
 ‘ from your Service by a Letter of your
 ‘ own Hand, though I find by it that my
 ‘ Enemies have been able to prevail with
 ‘ your Majesty to do it in the manner that
 ‘ is most injurious to me. And if their
 ‘ Malice and Inveteracy against me had not
 ‘ been more powerful with them than the
 ‘ Consideration of your Majesty's Honour
 ‘ and Justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the Occasion of
 ‘ my Dismission to a false and malicious Infinition contrived by themselves, and made
 ‘ public, when there was no Opportunity for
 ‘ me to give in my Answer; which, they
 ‘ must needs be conscious would fully detect
 ‘ the Falshood and Malice of their Aspersions, and not leave them that Handle for
 ‘ bringing your Majesty to such Extremities
 ‘ against me.

‘ But

' But I am much more concerned at an
 ' Expression in your Majesty's Letter,
 ' which seems to complain of the Treat-
 ' ment you had met with. I know not
 ' how to understand that Word, nor ~~what~~
 ' Construction to make of it. I know I have
 ' always endeavoured to serve your Majesty
 ' faithfully and zealously, through a great
 ' many undeserved Mortifications. But
 ' if your Majesty does intend by that Ex-
 ' pression to find Fault with my not com-
 ' ing to the Cabinet-Council, I am very
 ' free to acknowledge that my Duty to
 ' your Majesty and Country would not
 ' give me Leave to join in the Counsel of a
 ' Man, who, in my Opinion, puts your
 ' Majesty upon all manner of Extremities.
 ' And it is not my Opinion only, but the
 ' Opinion of all Mankind *that the Friend-*
 ' *ship of France must needs be destructive to*
 ' *your Majesty : There being in that Court a*
 ' *Root of Enmity irreconcilable to your Ma-*
 ' *jesty's Government, and the Religion of*
 ' *these Kingdoms.* I wish your Majesty
 ' may never find the want of so faithful a

Ser-

‘ Servant, as I have always endeavoured to
 ‘ approve myself to you. I am with the
 ‘ greatest Duty and Submission,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your Majesty’s*

‘ *most Dutiful and*

‘ *obedient Subject,*

MARLBOROUGH.

§ III.

THUS, my Lord, I have given you
 a short History of my Favour with
 my Royal Mistrefs, from it's earliest Rise
 to it's irrecoverable Fall. You have seen
 with Admiration how *sincere* and how *great*
 an Affection a *Queen* was capable of having
 for a *Servant who never flattered her*. And
 I doubt not but your Friendship made
 some Conclufions to *my* Advantage, when
 you observed for how many Years I was
 able to hold my Place in her Regard, not-
 withstanding her most real and invariable
 Paffion for that Phantom which she called
the Church : That *darling Phantom* which
 the Tories were for ever presenting to her
 Imagination, and employing as a *Will in*
the Whiff, to bewilder her Mind, and entice
 her, (as she at last unhappily experienced)
 to the Destruction of her Quiet and her
 Glory. But I believe you have thought that
 the most extraordinary Thing in the whole
 Fortune of my Favour, was it's being at
 last

last destroyed by a Cause, in Appearance so unequal to the Effect, I mean Mrs. *Abigail Hill*. For I will venture to affirm, that whatever may have been laid to my Charge of ill Behaviour to my Mistress in the latter Years of my Service, is all reducible to this one Crime, *My Inveteracy to poor Masbam*. I have indeed said, that my constant combating the Queen's Inclination to the Tories did, in the End, prove the Ruin of my Credit with her; and this is true, in as much as without that, her Majesty could never have been engaged to listen to any Insinuations against me. Her Passion for the Church furnished the sole Means by which Mrs. *Masbam* (the Machine in the Hands of *Harley*) could take hold of her Mind, and bring her by Degrees, to look upon that Behaviour in me, as Rudeness and Disrespect, which before had been only Sincerity and Frankness, and a Warmth of Zeal for her Service. And yet (as you have seen) in that very Letter where her Majesty tells me, *I have lost her Kindness irrecoverably*, she declares, *That*

this Change is not owing to any Fault I have committed. But though the Queen, in her highest Discontent with me, and after I had been in her Service seven and twenty Years, had no Crime to lay to my Charge, except *my Malice to poor Masham*, yet the ready Invention of others, who knew nothing of my Conduct, but whose Interest it was to decry me, could presently find in it abundant Matter for Accusation.

The Calumnies against me were so gross, and yet so greedily devoured by the Credulity of Party Rage, that I thought it became me to write and publish something in my own Justification; and the Substance of what I am now going to say, was contained in a sort of Memorial, which for that Purpose I drew up in 1712. I have already mentioned by what Means I was then dissuaded from making it publick, and the Reasons that now induce me to pursue that Design.

It

It was spread about in Libels, That I had behaved myself unworthily in my Offices, and been unfaithful to the Trusts reposed in me.

That I had abused my Favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant Grants to myself.

And that, through an insatiable Greediness of Riches, I had prostituted to Sale, Titles of Honour and Places of Trust.

As to my Conduct, with respect to the *Robes*, this one Observation is almost sufficient, that all my Accounts of the *Robes*, for the whole nine Years in which I served the Queen in that Office, were passed in the *Exchequer* with the greatest Regularity ; and that, in passing them, I produced Acquittances for every Sum to the Value of twenty Shillings paid to any Tradesman ; which was such a Method of Exactness as had never before

been used by any Master or Mistress of the Robes.

Upon my bringing in the first Accounts of this Sort, in order to have them passed, it was said, in a Report made to the Treasury from Auditor Harley's Office, that no such Accounts had ever been brought there before. Mr. *Taylor*, in the Treasury, and all the Clerks of that Board, made the like Observation. But what is most worthy to be remembered, Mr. *Harley*, the same Mr. *Harley*, who was afterwards Lord Treasurer, and who then hired his Creatures to misrepresent me, throughout all the Nation, as no better than a Pickpocket, the same Mr. *Harley*, I say, upon Occasion of his Brother's having made an Extract from the Accounts, which in former Reigns had been given in, of the yearly Expences of the Robes, wrote me the following Letter.

MADAM,

Thursday August 8. 1706.

‘ MADAM,

‘ I missed the Opportunity of paying
 ‘ my Duty to your Grace last Time at
 ‘ *Windsor*, which occasions you the Trou-
 ‘ ble of this Letter. My Brother, having
 ‘ made a State of your Grace’s Accounts,
 ‘ desired that I would receive your Pleasure,
 ‘ when you would permit him to wait up-
 ‘ on your Grace with it. *I perceive your*
 ‘ *Grace’s Conduct will shine on all Occasions*;
 ‘ for my Brother tells me, that he has
 ‘ made a Collection from all the Accounts
 ‘ which have been brought in for the
 ‘ Robes for 46 Years, since the Year
 ‘ 1660, and by that it will appear, upon
 ‘ the Comparifon, how much better (to a
 ‘ great Value) your Grace has managed
 ‘ for the Crown. He will have the Ho-
 ‘ nour to present this to your Grace when-
 ‘ ever you please to appoint a Time to
 ‘ receive it, &c. *

* The Remainder of this Letter is in the former Part of this Relation. Page 237.

A Copy of the Collection here mentioned, * added at the End of this Relation, and whoever will be at the Pains to compare the four last Years in those Accounts (when I had the Management of the Robes) with the preceding Years in the same Accounts, will find, that the yearly Expence of the Robes in all the Reigns before Queen *Anne*, is, one Year with another, above 5040 *l.* whereas the Expence of the four first Years of her Reign one with another, is not 2900 *l.*

But because there is a great deal of Difference between the Expences for the Robes of a Queen, and the Expences for those of a King, it will be more equitable to compare my Accounts for the Robes of Queen *Anne*, with those for Queen *Mary's* Robes, when under the Management of Lady *Derby*, of which, for two Years, I procured a Copy from the Office.

It

It appears that in the *first* of those two Years, the Expence of Queen *Mary's* Robes was greater by a Thousand Pound, than that of Queen *Anne's* for the whole four Years mentioned in Auditor *Harley's* Collection. For the Expence of those four Years was no more than 11,565 *l.* 7 *s.* 1 *d.* whereas the Expence of the *first Year only* of Queen *Mary* was 12,604 *l.* 12 *s.* 2 *d.* It appears also that the Expence of the Robes, in the *second Year* of Queen *Mary*, was 11,131 *l.* 9 *s.* 1 *d.* which is not many Hundred Pounds short of the whole Expence of the said four Years of Queen *Anne*.

After these four Years, the Expence of the following five Years (which make up the whole Time of my Service) amounting to 18,972 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* was more in Proportion than that of the said four preceding Years. This was chiefly occasioned by the extraordinary Expence on Account of the Mourning for the Prince, and the Queen's ordering every Thing belonging to the Robes of what Kind soever to be given away,

away, so that at the End of the Mourning all were new at once; and amongst them some very rich Clothes, which happened just before I left the Office. These two Articles necessarily made a considerable Increase of the ordinary Expence, especially as the Queen gave 600 *l.* to the Maids of Honour to buy them Mourning. However, the yearly Expence of my *nine Years*, taken one with another, is very small in Comparison of the *two Years* before-mentioned, when *Lady Derby* managed *Queen Mary's Robes*. For the Sum Total paid by the *Exchequer* on Account of the Robes in my nine Years, amounts only to 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* as will appear to any one who will take the Trouble to look into the *Exchequer* Rolls, and if I paid more it must have been out of my own Pocket, an Indiscretion of which no Body has suspected me. If from this Sum of 32,050 *l.* 1 *s.* 3 *d.* be deducted, the Coronation Expence, which was 1512 *l.* 4 *s.* 4 *d.* there will remain 30,537 *l.* 16 *s.* 11 *d.* and then the yearly Expence of the said nine Years, one with another, will be

be 3393 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. But it is to be observed that in this Sum are included the Salaries, and many other Things relating to the Robes; amounting to about 1400 *l.* a Year, which I always put into my Account, (because I thought it the fairest Way) but which before my Time were put into a separate Account, that the Account of the Robes might appear the less. If therefore you subtract this 1400 *l.* from the above Sum of 3393 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, the Remainder (the yearly Expence of Queen *Anne's* Robes in my nine Years) is only 1993 *l.* 1 *s.* 9 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$, which is less than the yearly Expence of Queen *Mary's* Robes, (according to Lady *Derby's* Accounts hereto annexed) by the yearly Sum of 9874 *l.* 18 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{1}{4}$. So that it evidently appears that by my Oeconomy in the nine Years I served her Majesty, I saved her near 90,000 *l.* For I believe it will be granted, that without incurring any Censure, I might have swelled the Accounts for Queen *Anne's* Robes, to as large a Sum as Lady *Derby* did for Queen *Mary's*.

But

But to shew how much People were determined to defame me at any Rate, and at all Adventures, I had the Fortune, that while some accused me of being *too profuse* of the Queen's Money, others censured me as being *too saving* of it, and too hard upon the Tradesmen I dealt with. It will not be amiss therefore to give some Account of this Matter, and of the Methods I used to reduce the Expences of the Robes to so small a Sum.

It is very well known, that in the preceding Reigns, the Tradesmen gave Money to serve the Crown, which brought in great Sums to the Masters of the Robes, but at the same Time obliged the Tradesmen to charge extravagant Prices for their Goods, a Privilege which could hardly be disputed with them, considering the Sums they had given for the Custom, and the Accidents they were then always exposed to by the Death of the Prince, or the Death or Removal of the Master of the Robes. But the Tradesmen whom I made Use of
had

had nothing of this to plead ; they gave no Money to serve the Crown, nor were put to any Expence, not so much as the customary one of Poundage ; they were paid regularly, ran no Manner of Hazard, and had no more Trouble in serving the Queen than in serving a common Customer, and therefore I did not think it reasonable that they should be allowed above a Shilling or two in the Pound extraordinary for their Goods. But those who had the Honour to *see* the Queen, and to make her Clothes, were allowed more than the double of what they had from the first Quality. And this was all I thought myself at Liberty to do in an Office in which I was entirely trusted.

My Method to prevent all Mistakes or Abuses, was always to sign the Tradesmens Bills at the same Time that they delivered their Goods. They were paid by Mrs. *Thomas*, a Person of whose Honesty I had had long Experience, and to whom I had given the Employment of Chief of the Robes, making it worth to her between

two and three Hundred Pounds a Year, not by a Salary, but by old Clothes and other little Advantages; and I had a Promise from her, never to take Money of any of the Tradesmen. It is very certain that she was punctual to this Promise, and if any of the * Tradesmen themselves are still living, they will I am sure bear Witness to it.

I come now to my Management of the Privy-Purse, the yearly Allowance for which was 20,000 *l.* not half the Sum allowed in King *William's* Time, and indeed very little, considering how great a Charge there was fixed upon it by Custom, the Queen's Bounties, Play Money, healing Gold, and Charities, besides the many Pensions that were paid out of it. The Allowance was augmented to 26,000 *l.* two Years before I left the Office. But in those two Years

* The Principal of them were Mr. *Vernon*, Mr. *Inchly*, Mr. *Sands* upon *Ludgate-Hill*, and Mr. *Alexander* in *Covent-Garden*, all Mercers. Mrs. *Devet*, Mrs. *Tombes* and Mr. *Bagshaw*, who kept *Indian Shops*, and Mr. *Eliot* (since succeeded by his Nephew) a Lacceman in the *Strand*.

Mrs.

Mrs. *Mafham* was become the great Dispenfer of the Queen's Money, I only bringing to her Majesty the Sums that were called for.

The Privy-Purse is not subject to any Account by Law, notwithstanding which I observed the same Method with Regard to this as with Regard to the Robes, taking Acquittances from all Persons to whom I paid any Money, and *from the Queen herself for all Sums paid into her own Hands*, as likewise a Discharge from her Majesty upon every Account given in, which Discharge was in these Words.

I have examined these Accounts, and am satisfied they are right.

ANNE R.

The Money of the Privy-Purse was paid upon my Notes, by Mr. *Coggs* a Goldsmith over-against St. *Clement's* Church, whom I strictly charged never to take any Poundage, which used constantly to be taken before my Time. But I thought it

would be as mean as it was inhuman, to deduct from Charities, and make Advantage of the Indigence of others, and therefore I broke that Custom. Let any one then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this Office into such a Method, as rendered it impossible for me to cheat the Queen, even supposing I could at any time have been base enough to desire it.

The SECOND Charge against me is, That of abusing my Favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant Grants to myself.

I have never been disposed to deny any of the Queen's Favours to me; I have always remembered them with Gratitude, and freely spoke of them as there was Occasion; and I shall here give a particular Account of all the Grants and Bounties I ever had from her.

I have in the former part of this Relation, taken Notice of my being appointed
one

one of the Ladies of her Bed-chamber, at her own Request, upon her Marriage with the Prince of *Denmark*. The Salary of this Place was 200 *l.* a Year.

I have mentioned also that her Royal Highness, upon the Countess of *Clarendon's* leaving her to go to *Ireland*, advanced me to be first Lady of the Bed-chamber ; by which Promotion I came to have a yearly Salary of 400 *l.*

I have further related, that the Princess soon after her obtaining a Settlement by Parliament of 50,000 *l.* a Year, believing, that she owed the Ease and Independency of her Condition to the Zeal, Industry, and Diligence of my Lord *Marlborough* and myself upon that Occasion, was pleased to grant me, of her own Motion, an annual Pension of 1000 *l.* And I cannot here entirely pass over the Intention, which her Royal Highness had of giving us another Mark of her Favour, when my Lord *Marlborough* fell into Disgrace with King
Y *William.*

William. She would have made a new Office for him in her Court, like that which Lord *Berkeley* had in her Father's. But as soon as I was apprized of this Design, I dissuaded her from it ; because I thought it not reasonable on her own Account ; and besides, as I lived in Friendship with Sir *Benjamin Bathurst*, who would have been hurt by the Creation of such an Office, I thought this a sufficient Reason for declining the Offer.

A little before the Princess came to the Crown, my eldest Daughter was to be married to Lord *Godolphin's* Son, on which Occasion her Highness wrote to me in these Terms.

‘ I have a Request to make to my dear
 ‘ *Mrs. Freeman.* It is, that whenever dear
 ‘ *Lady Hariotte* marries, you would give
 ‘ me Leave to give her something to keep
 ‘ me in her Thoughts — *and concluded thus,*
 ‘ — I beg my poor Mite may be accept-
 ‘ ed, being offered from a Heart that is
 with-

‘ without any Reserve with more Pas-
 ‘ sion and Sincerity my dear Mrs. *Free-*
 ‘ *man’s*, than any other can be capable of.

The Mite which the Princess here speaks of was 10,000 *l.* the whole Portion that was to be paid on my Daughter’s Marriage. It had always been the Custom for the Crown to give Portions to the Daughters of their Favourites, but the Princess having but 50,000 *l.* a Year, I thought the Offer too large for her Income, and would therefore accept no more than the half of it.

The like Sum of 5000 *l.* the Princess gave to my second Daughter when she was married to Lord *Sunderland*, adding a Promise at the same Time to take Care of all my Children.

I fancy, my Lord, if you consider only the almost unparallel’d Affection the Queen had for me, you will be little surprized, either at these Expressions of it, or those

which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much less so, if you can believe the Queen herself in a Matter, where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the Proofs I had given her of my affectionate Fidelity in her Service, and inviolable Attachment to her Interests and Happiness. It would be as endless as it is needless to transcribe all the Letters I have from her to this Purpose. A few Extracts from some of them will be sufficient.

On Occasion of something done for the Prince in King *William's* Time, she wrote to me in these Terms.

‘ I was going to thank your Lord my-
 ‘ self for what was done last Night con-
 ‘ cerning the Prince’s Business, it being
 ‘ wholly owing to your and his Kindness,
 ‘ or else I am sure it would never have been
 ‘ brought to any Effect. But I durst not
 ‘ do it for fear of not being able to express
 ‘ the true Sense of my poor Heart, and
 ‘ therefore I must desire my dear Mrs.

‘ *Freeman*

‘ *Freeman* to say a great deal both for
 ‘ *Mr. Morley* and myself : And though we
 ‘ are poor in Words, yet be so just as to
 ‘ believe we are truly sensible, and most
 ‘ faithfully yours. And as for your faith-
 ‘ ful *Morley*, be assured she is more, if it
 ‘ be possible, than ever, her dear dear Mrs.
 ‘ *Freeman’s*.’

In another, after complaining to me of
 being ill served (as indeed she was to a very
 great Degree) she adds,——

‘ Though it will be impossible for me
 ‘ to have every Thing done to my Mind,
 ‘ unless I could meet with a Mrs. *Freeman*
 ‘ in every Post of my Family ; but her
 ‘ Fellow I do really believe is not to be
 ‘ found the World over, and I am sure I
 ‘ never can have any Friend that will be
 ‘ so dear to me as she is.’

In another——(I forget upon what Oc-
 casion)——‘ I give you Millions of Thanks
 ‘ for all your and Mr. *Freeman’s* Kindness,

' which I am more truly sensible of than I
 ' can express, and shall never be satisfied
 ' with any Thing I can either do or say in
 ' return ; for where one owes so much,
 ' one can never get out of Debt : But
 ' whilst I have Life, I will endeavour to
 ' shew my dear Mrs. *Freeman*, I have a
 ' grateful Heart that is most passionately
 ' and faithfully at her Command.'

When her Royal Highness was pleased
 to give the 5000 *l.* I have mentioned on
 my eldest Daughter's Marriage, I wrote
 her a Letter full of Gratitude and Respect.
 At that Time I kept no Copies of my
 Letters, having no Suspicion that I should
 ever have occasion for such Vouchers, how-
 ever the Princess's Answer will show the
 Tenour of what I wrote, as well as her
 Highness's Sentiments in my Regard.

' My dear Mrs. *Freeman* has no Rea-
 ' son to be uneasy with the Thoughts that
 ' she can never do enough to deserve my
 ' Kindness, for she has done more than
 ' ever

' ever any Mortal did to merit another's
 ' Friendship. And it is very kind in setting
 ' so great a Value upon so poor an Expres-
 ' sion as I have made of my Truth,
 ' which *upon my Word I am not satisfied*
 ' *with, it coming far short of what my*
 ' *Heart is inclined to do.* But as long as I
 ' live, I must be endeavouring to shew,
 ' that never any body had a sincerer Pas-
 ' sion for another, than I have for dear
 ' Mrs. Freeman.'

All these Favours I received from the
 Princess before she came to the Crown,
 soon after which, I had the following Let-
 ter from her, which as it shews the conti-
 nuance of her sincere Affection for me,
 will at the same Time serve for a Voucher
that I did not accept the Whole that was of-
 fer'd for a Portion to my eldest Daughter.

Friday Morning.

' My Lord Bridgewater being in haste
 ' to be married, I cannot any longer de-
 ' fer telling my dear Mrs. Freeman, what I
 ' have

' have intended a great while, that I hope
 ' she will now give me Leave to do what
 ' I had a Mind to when dear Lady *Hariotte*
 ' was married, and let me speak to my
 ' Lord Treasurer about it when I see
 ' him, &c.'

This Letter was a kind Proof that the
 Queen had not forgot her Promise of pro-
 viding for all my Children, which she af-
 terwards fully perform'd by giving the like
 Portion to my fourth Daughter.

I shall now mention all the Grants
 made to myself during the whole Time
 that I served her Majesty.

The first was the Office of Ranger of
 the great and little Parks at *Windſor*. This
 I eſteem'd as a great Favour, becauſe the
 Lodge in the great Park (the ſame that
 Mr. *May* enjoy'd many Years, and after
 him the Earl of *Portland*) is a very agree-
 able Place to live in ; and becauſe her Ma-
 jeſty was pleaſed to give it me of her own
 Accord, remembering that when we uſed in
 former

former Days to ride by it, I had often wish'd for such a Place. The Lodge in the little Park at that Time was no better than such as the Under-keepers live in, and I gave it to a Brother of the Duke of *Marlborough's*, who was so well pleas'd with the Situation, as to lay out five or six thousand Pounds upon it; of which the Crown will have the Advantage after one Life, as also of between four and five thousand Pounds that I laid out upon the Lodge in the great Park.

This Grant used to be represented to the Publick as worth 4000 *l.* a Year: but all the Keepers, and many of the Inhabitants of *Windsor* know, that I never made any Advantage of it worth mentioning, unless the Milk of a few Cows and a little Firing when I was there may be reckoned such. And how indeed can it be imagined, that any other Profits could arise from it (without taking away the very Allowances of the Keepers) when it is remembered, that to answer the Crown Warrants, it is necessary to keep up four or five Thousand Head of Deer in the Park, for
which

which the Allowance was but 500*l.* a Year (which however was taken from me some Years ago) and that the Ranger must be at the Expence of making, and sometimes of buying Hay for the Deer; that the Keepers Wages were payable out of this Allowance, with several other Expences which in Parks belonging to the Crown are much greater than in others? So that the Thing had plainly very little to recommend it, besides the Pleasantness of the Habitation.

The next Grant, of which by my Lord *Godolphin's* Means I obtained the Promise from the Queen, after the Queen Dowager's Death, was the Ground in *St. James's-Park* upon which my House stands. This has been valued by my Enemies at 10,000*l.* How justly let any one determine, who will consider that a certain Rent is paid for it to the *Exchequer*, that the Grant was at first but for fifty Years, and that the Building has cost between forty and fifty thousand Pounds, of which the Queen never paid one Shilling, though many People have been made to believe otherwise. These

These were the only Grants I ever had from the Queen, except one, which occasioned the witty Comparison that was made between me and the Lady's Woman, who out of her Mistress's Pin-Money of 26 *l.* put twenty two into her own Pocket. The Matter was this. At the Queen's Accession to the Government, she used to lament to me, that the Crown being impoverished by former Grants, she wanted the Power her Predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful Servants; and she desired me to take out of the Privy-Purse 2000 *l.* a Year, in Order to some Purchase for my Advantage. I made my grateful Acknowledgments to her Majesty, but at the same Time said, that as her Majesty was so good to provide for my Children, and as the Offices I enjoy'd by her Favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her Offer; and I absolutely refused it. The Queen some time after, in two several Letters, pressed me to receive this Bounty, and she frequently did the same by Word of

Z Mouth,

Mouth. Nevertheless I constantly declin'd it; until the Time, that, notwithstanding the uncommon Regard I had shown to her Majesty's Interest and Honour in the Execution of my Trusts, she was pleas'd to dismiss me from her Service. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the same Reason to be scrupulous on this Head. By the Advice of my Friends, I sent the Queen one of her own Letters, in which she had press'd me to take the 2000 *l.* a Year; and I wrote at the same Time to ask her Majesty, whether she would allow me to charge in the Privy-Purse Accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly Sum from the Time of the Offer, amounting to 18,000 *l.* Her Majesty was pleas'd to answer, that I might charge it. This therefore I did, *inserting in my Accounts* (which were a kind of *Memorial*) these Words:

' After the Princess came to the Crown,
' she was pleas'd to write to me to take
' 2000 *l.* a Year out of the Privy-Purse,
' and to make no more Words of it, and lay
it

‘ it up to do something with it ; because,
 ‘ she added, she had not Power to do as
 ‘ others had done before her, to reward
 ‘ faithful Services. And I might own or
 ‘ conceal it as I liked best ; for she did not
 ‘ care who knew what she gave to one she
 ‘ could never reward enough.’

Her Majesty, after keeping my Accounts
 a sufficient Time to have them carefully
 examined, (I suppose by Mr. *Harley*) re-
 turn’d them to me sign’d in this manner.

Feb. 1, 17¹⁰.

‘ I have examined these Accounts, and
 ‘ allow of them,

Anne R.

If some Persons may be inclined to cen-
 sure my Conduct in this Particular as too
 interested, yet every body must, I think, be
 candid enough to own, that it shewed a Con-
 sciousness of my Integrity in the Discharge of

my Trusts, and that I feared no Accusation upon that Head, even from Malice in Power. Nay I will venture to say, that impartial Judges will not think this Part of my Behaviour liable to any Criticism, when they remember and consider, that by my unprecedented Fidelity and Oeconomy in the Discharge of my Offices, I saved to her Majesty not only more than the Sum in Question, but more than the whole Value of all the Gratuities I ever had from her. For besides the Bounties I have already mentioned, the Queen after her coming to the Crown, never made me the Present of a Diamond, or of any Thing worth taking Notice of, during the whole Time that I was in her Favour.

As to my Offices under the Queen they were indeed considerable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be so, amounting to 5600 *l.* a Year, deducting only for Taxes and Fees. But it is to be remembered, that they were only the same Employments that I had executed when she was Princess,

at

at the Salary of 400 *l.* a Year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that she should continue me in them when she came to be Queen. And in what Manner I discharged these Offices, I have already related.

I come now to the *third* Article of Accusation against me, *That I prostituted to Sale Titles of Honour and Places of Trust.*

As for *Titles of Honour*, I never was concerned in making any Peer but one, and that was my Lord *Hervey* the present Earl of *Bristol*. I had made a Promise to Sir *Thomas Felton*, when the Queen came first to the Crown, that if her Majesty should ever make any new Lords, I would certainly use my Interest that Mr. *Hervey* might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the Country under the most sensible Affliction for the Death of my only Son, yet when the Queen had resolved to create four Peers, *Granville*, *Guernsey*, *Gower* and *Conway*, I had such a Regard to my Word, that I wrote to Lord *Marlborough* and Lord

Godolphin, that if they did not endeavour to get Mr. *Hervey* made a Peer, I neither would nor could shew my Face any more. The Thing was done purely at my Request, and at a Time when Affairs at Court ran so violently against the whole Party of Whigs, that Mr. *Hervey* had laid aside all Hopes of the Peerage, and was therefore surprized to the last Degree, when a Message came to him from the Duke of *Marlborough*, that he must come on such a Day by the Back-Stairs, to kiss the Queen's Hand for being made a Peer. On this Occasion my Lady *Hervey* wrote to me in the following Terms.

‘ *March 14, 1702.*

‘ MADAM,

‘ Mr. *Hervey* and myself have both so
 ‘ long and justly sacrificed the Satisfaction of our own, to the Ease and Quiet
 ‘ of your Grace's Mind, that could you
 ‘ know what incessant Importunities we
 ‘ have resisted from the one, you would
 ‘ the easilier forgive the unseasonable Interruptions

' ruptions we fear this must at last prove
 ' to the other ; but the Sense of our Ob-
 ' ligations to your Grace calls too cla-
 ' morously upon us to be any farther
 ' withstood, and therefore we rather ven-
 ' ture this Intrusion upon your Solitude,
 ' than to be longer silent upon a Subject,
 ' which requires the earliest Endeavours af-
 ' ter all Returns that can be made your
 ' Grace by us for it. I know nothing we
 ' have so much at Heart (unless it be the
 ' due Sympathy we feel of your Grace's
 ' present Condition) as how we may in some
 ' Sort deserve the great Honour her Majesty
 ' has been so graciously pleased to bestow on
 ' us and our Family, by your Grace's kind
 ' Mediation, and how we may ever acquit
 ' ourselves of so generous a Piece of Friend-
 ' ship towards your Grace, which I am very
 ' sure we both think the future Study of
 ' our Lives can never enough compensate,
 ' unless your Grace's usual Goodness will
 ' accept of the most zealous and grateful
 ' Wills for Payment, and then we con-
 ' clude the chief of those very many, whom

‘ you have bound to be your Grace’s well
 ‘ Wishers must remain, as much if not
 ‘ more indebted to you than I know Mr.
 ‘ *Hervey* (so qualified) to be as well as,

‘ MADAM,

‘ *Your Grace’s most obliged,*

‘ *and faithful humble Servant,*

‘ E. HERVEY.’

This Letter would alone be a sufficient Proof, that the Service I then did was not the Purchase of Money; but my Lord *Bristol* is still living, who will vouch for the Truth of this Account.

Certain it is, that I might have made considerable Profit by this Sort of Traffic, could I have thought it consistent with Justice and Honour. I was offered 6000 *l.* to get Mr. *Coke of Norfolk* made a Peer. And how easy and inoffensive a Thing would this have been at that Time? For he was a Gentleman of an Estate equal to the Title desired, and
 was

was Grandson to the Duke of *Leeds*, and in that Interest which then carried all before it at Court. The Answer I gave to the Proposal was to this Effect :

That I thought her Majesty, the Fountain of Honour, should never bestow it but upon true Merit, and as an Encouragement to such Persons as were considerable enough to be useful to their Prince ; and that the granting the Peerage upon such generous Conditions, was the most likely Way to *oblige* those she honoured with it, and strongly engage them to her Service ; to which they would look upon themselves as but little bound on Account of their Titles, if these were the Purchase of their own Money.

And as I was never carried by Avarice to concern myself in procuring Titles of Honour for others, so I shall take occasion to observe here, that Ambition had no Share in procuring that new Title, which, by her Majesty's Favour to my Lord *Marlborough*, I myself acquired. The following Letters will

will be some Proof of it. The first is from my Lord *Godolphin*.

Thursday Night, Oct. 22.

—‘ By the enclosed Address from the
‘ House of Lords, which is to be present-
‘ ed to the Queen to-morrow, you will see
‘ they take Notice very thankfully of the
‘ Benefits they receive from her Majesty’s
‘ Protection, and mention her good Suc-
‘ cesses with better Grace for her, in my O-
‘ pinion, than if she had done it herself.

‘ I shall send a Copy of this Address to-
‘ morrow by the Post to my Lord *Marlbo-*
‘ *rough*, because I believe it will be a Satis-
‘ faction to him. I am apt to think Mrs.
‘ *Morley* may say something to you upon
‘ this Subject, which perhaps you may not
‘ like, but I think it must be endured upon
‘ such an Occasion, when it is visible to all
‘ the World, that it is not done upon your
‘ own Account.’ —

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My Lord had rightly conjectured ; for I received a Letter of the same Date with his, from the Queen, upon the same Subject.

St. James's, *Thursday 22 October.*

‘ I have had this Evening the Satisfaction
 ‘ of my dear Mrs. *Freeman*’s of Yesterday,
 ‘ for which I give you many Thanks, and
 ‘ though I think it a long Time since I saw
 ‘ you, I do not desire you to come one
 ‘ Minute sooner to Town than it is easy to
 ‘ you, but will wait with Patience for the
 ‘ happy Hour, and only beg when you do
 ‘ come you would send for a Coach, and
 ‘ not make use of a Chaise. Lord Treas-
 ‘ urer intends to send you a Copy of the
 ‘ Address from the House of Lords, which
 ‘ is to be given me to-morrow, and that
 ‘ gives me an Opportunity of mentioning
 ‘ a Thing to you, that I did not intend to
 ‘ do yet. It is very uneasy to your poor,
 ‘ unfortunate, faithful *Morley* to think she
 ‘ has so very little in her Power to show how
 ‘ truly

‘ truly sensible I am of all my Lord *Marl-*
 ‘ *borough’s* Kindness, especially at a Time
 ‘ when he deserves all that a rich Crown
 ‘ could give. But since there is nothing
 ‘ else at this Time, I hope you will give
 ‘ me Leave, as soon as he comes, to make
 ‘ him a Duke. I know my dear Mrs.
 ‘ *Freeman* does not care for any Thing of
 ‘ that Kind, nor I am not satisfied with it,
 ‘ because it does not enough express the
 ‘ Value I have for Mr. *Freeman*, nor no-
 ‘ thing ever can how passionately I am
 ‘ yours, my dear Mrs. *Freeman*.’

The other Letter from my Lord *Godolphin*,
 as far as it relates to this Affair, is in these
 Terms.

Saturday Night.

‘ I give you many Thanks for the Fa-
 ‘ vour of your Letter, which I received this
 ‘ Evening. I did easily believe Mrs. *Mor-*
 ‘ *ley’s* Letter would make you uneasy, but
 ‘ having her Commands not to speak of it,
 ‘ I durst not say any more, than just to pre-
 ‘ pare you to submit to what I found by
 ‘ ber

her she was convinced was necessary for
 ‘ the Satisfaction of the Publick, I have
 ‘ waited upon her this Evening to let her
 ‘ see how truly uneasy you were, and have
 ‘ begged of her, when she sees you, not to
 ‘ part till she has made you easy again, ei-
 ‘ ther by your submitting to please her, or
 ‘ by her condescending to cure your Appre-
 ‘ hensions.’

As these Letters from my Lord *Godolphin* were written at a Time when there could not be even the remotest View of making them publick, they shew that in his Opinion, at least, I was not ambitious of a higher Title, which indeed I considered as what would serve only to provoke Malice, without giving me the least Degree of Pleasure.

AS to *selling Places*, which was the last Thing I was to clear myself from, I shall now give an Account of my Conduct with respect to this Charge, from the Time that I came first into any Office at Court.

A little

A little before I succeeded Lady *Clarendon* in the Post of first Lady of the Bed-chamber to the Princess of *Denmark*, her Highness wrote to me, that she intended to take two new Pages of the Back-Stairs, but that she would not do it till my Lady *Clarendon* was gone, that I might have the Advantage of putting them in, meaning, that I might have the Advantage of selling those two Places. For it must be remark'd, that at that Time no Person who was in any Office at Court, with Places in his Disposal, made any more Scruple of selling them, than of receiving his settled Salary, or the Rents of his Estate. It is no great Wonder therefore, that being a young Courtier, and not very rich, and having such an express Direction from my Mistress, I followed the prevailing Custom, and sold those two Places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own Mind this Practice. There was something I thought that felt wrong in the selling of Employments, and from this Thought I came presently to a Resolution, never more

to

to make any Advantage to myself by such Means. And when, some Time after, the Princess thought proper to part with her Roman Catholick Servants, three in Number, of whom two were Pages of the Back-Stairs, and of which two one had bought his Place of me at the Time before mentioned, and paid 400 *l.* for it, I gave him back the whole Sum ; and I gave the like Sum to the other Roman Catholick Page, though he had risen to this Employment from being Footman, and without Money. Nay, I procured for this Man, (whose Name was *Guyn*) the Continuation of his Salary for Life, which I mention, only that I may speak of his uncommon Gratitude: For during five and twenty Years afterwards, I did not set out upon a Journey from *London*, without finding him at my Coach Side full of his good Wishes for my Health and Happiness.

The first Vacancy that happen'd under the Prince (whose Confidence in me was equal to that of the Princess) was of the

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Place

Place of Groom of the Bed-chamber. This I procur'd for Mr. *Maul*, who knowing what was usual in such Cases, sent a Message to me, desiring Leave to make me a Present, to which I immediately return'd Answer, that I was resolv'd against every thing of that kind.

Another Place that became vacant under the Prince, was that of Groom of the Stole, which being given to my Lord *Delawar*, he brought a Present of 500 *l.* to Mr. *Guidot* for me ; but Mr. *Guidot*, who knew my Dislike of such Practices, quickly satisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many Letters from his Lordship, and some but a little before my leaving the Court, full of the greatest Acknowledgements ; and to him I always appeal'd for the Truth of this Fact.

I also refused a Present from my Lord *Lexington*, who employ'd Mr. *Scarborough* to make me the Offer, when his Lordship

was desirous to be Master of the Horse to the Prince.

When the Queen came to the Crown, I had every Day much greater Opportunities than before, of making Advantage of her Favour, but I invariably adhered to the Resolution I had taken : And I doubt not but every candid Person will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finished what I have to say upon the Subject.

Had I been disposed to heap up Money by the Sale of Employments, I should certainly not have neglected to sell those, which by Virtue of my Offices were in my own Disposal. I might have done it with the greatest Ease ; and Custom had given me a Sort of Right to do it : But I could never think of selling my own Favour, any more than that of my Royal Mistress.

The first Places, which I had to dispose of, were those of the three Pages of the Back-Stairs ; Places so considerable, that se-

veral Grooms of the Stole were credibly said to have sold them for a thousand Guineas each. But these I gave freely to Mr. *Kirk*, Mr. *Saxton*, and Mr. *Smith*, and purely at the Request of three Ladies, the Lady *Charlotte Beverwaert*, the Lady *Fitzharding*, and the Countess of *Plymouth*.

The other Places in my Disposal were in the Office of the Robes—Waiters, Coffer-bearers, Groom of the Wardrobe, chief of the Robes, Starcher, Sempstrefs.

Were the Persons I have named above, and those to whom I gave these last mentioned Employments, all, or most of them now living, as they were in 1712, when this Account was first drawn up, their Testimony (to which I had there appeal'd) would have amounted to a *positive* Proof of my Integrity and Disinterestedness on these Occasions. But as this kind of Proof cannot now be had, so neither is it wanted, there being still a *Negative one*, which, I am persuaded, must appear no less strong and irresistible. And it is this. My

My Enemies at a Time, when they had all Power in their Hands, when they had raised such a Spirit of Virulence and Malice as would make any Thing to my Prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any Person, that was capable of proving the base Practices they charged me with, even *then* I say, all their Accusations were general ; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular Action, either unjust, mercenary, or even ungenerous in the Use I made of my Royal Mistress's Favour, or in the Management of my own great Offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one Person for a Proof of what they laid to my Charge.

But, my Lord, all I have hitherto said on this Article of Accusation, is to satisfy those, who are not acquainted with me. Those who are, will, I am persuaded, believe me, upon my *Word*, when I affirm, as I here solemnly do, That (excepting the Pages

Money above-mention'd) *I never received the Value of one Shilling in Money or Jewels, or in any other Form, either directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other Person, for procuring any Place or Preferment, or any Title of Honour, or any Employment in my own Disposal, or, in a Word, for doing any Favour during my whole Life.*

I am

20 Jan.

17 4½.

My Lord, &c.

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and
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Masters
Rob

Earl of

L. Hyde.
L.E. of R
L.E. of R

H. Sydney

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An ACCOUNT of the State of the Disbursements
and Allowances in the Office of the Robes, within the
Times hereafter mentioned.

Collected by Mr. Auditor *Harley*.

Masters of the Robes.	From	l.	s.	d.
Earl of Ogle.	{ May the 29th 1660, to March 25th 1662 }	16831	10	1
L. Hyde, Esq;	{ March 25 1662, to March 25 1663 }	6781	15	6
L.E. of Rochester.	March 25 1663, to March 24 1664	6968	4	10
L.E. of Rochester.	March 25 1664, to March 24 1665	6982	16	8
	March 25 1665, to March 24 1666	6085	1	0
	March 25 1666, to Sept. 29 1668	5158	10	3
	Sept. 29 1668, to Sept. 29 1669	5480	16	2
	Sept. 29 1669, to Sept. 29 1670	4518	7	11
	Sept. 29 1670, to Michaelmas 1671	6723	3	0
	Michael. 1671, to Michael. 1672	5861	6	11
	Michael. 1672, to Michael. 1673	5617	14	4
	Michael. 1673, to Michael. 1674	5407	13	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1674, to Michael. 1675	4283	8	11
	Michael. 1675, to Michael. 1676	4572	16	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1676, to Michael. 1677	5427	3	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Michael. 1677, to Lady-day 1678	2508	1	6
H. Sydney, Esq;	Lady-day 1678, to Lady-day 1680	3832	1	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lady-day 1680, to Lady-day 1681	4305	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Lady-day 1681, to Lady-day 1682	8028	17	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
E. of Rochefort.	Feb. the 13th 1683, to Feb. 13 1689	4473	4	4
	Expence for the Coronation	2627	19	1
	Feb. the 13th 1689, to Feb. 13 1690	4206	1	8
	Feb. 13 1690, to Feb. 13 1691	4525	6	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	Feb. 13 1691, to Feb. 13 1692	4100	13	2
	Feb. 13 1692, to Feb. 13 1693	4369	7	5
	Feb. 13 1693, to May 5 1695	5545	18	2
E. of Albemarle.	May 5 1695, to May 4 1696	3513	7	9
	May 4 1696, to May 4 1697	5111	5	6
	May 4 1697, to May 4 1698	3120	19	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
	May 4 1698, to May 4 1699	5733	10	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Her Grace the Dutcheſs of Marlborough.	{ March 8 1701, to Lady-day 1703 }	3950	16	7
	Lady-day 1703, to Lady-day 1704	3156	3	8
	Lady-day 1704, to Lady-day 1706	4458	6	10

A Particular of Bills attested by the Right Honourable *Elizabeth*, Countess of *Derby*, Lady of her Majesty's Robes, and paid, viz.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Aug.</i> 21, 1689.	To <i>Sarah Browne</i>	7	10	0
<i>Sept.</i> 4.	To <i>Dan. Browne</i>	2103	10	0
16.	To <i>Jane Harrison</i>	27	14	0
	To <i>Stephen Hugueny</i>	15	0	0
<i>Jan.</i> 3.	To <i>Nath. James</i>	4	0	0
	To <i>Richard Brown</i>	13	10	0
4.	To <i>Sir Francis Childe</i>	1400	0	0
23.	To <i>Mary Bampton</i>	1697	14	9
	To <i>Stephen Hugueny</i>	9	0	0
	To <i>Richard Howse</i>	33	10	0
	To <i>Thomas Alkborn</i>	479	17	6
	To <i>Robert Blake</i>	84	0	0
	To <i>Ellis Cryer</i>	13	19	6
	To <i>Gerrard Smale</i>	74	5	0
	To <i>Catbarine Mulys</i>	34	7	6
	To <i>Matthew Reynolds</i>	100	0	0
	To <i>Mary Ferguson</i>	385	1	6
	To <i>Serena Cozens</i>	14	19	6
	To <i>Peter Lombard</i>	44	15	0
	To <i>Henry Robins</i>	40	17	2
	To <i>William Garrway</i>	62	7	0
	To <i>Edward Vickers</i>	7	13	2
	To <i>Francis Kinsman</i>	104	7	0
	To <i>Thomas Tompion</i>	213	18	6
	To <i>Eliz. Graydon</i>	90	14	8
	To <i>Henry Cope</i>	571	17	7
	To <i>Jane Harrison</i>	15	1	0
	To <i>Richard Beavoir</i>	2156	13	0
	To <i>Richard Cooper</i>	584	2	4
Carried over		10390	5	8
		Brought		

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
	Brought over	10390	5	8
1689.	To Philip La Sage	32	15	0
	To Solomon de Medina	130	17	0
	To Godfrey Poole	6	16	6
	To Gilbert Kirk	86	5	3
	To Eliz. Perrier	122	0	0
	To Thomas Morton	1244	14	11
Jul. 17. 1690.	To Sarah Brown	30	0	0
	To Mary Ferguson	148	0	0
	To Marg. Wood	6	0	0
25.	To Eliz. Worthington	7	10	0
	To Nicholas Alexander	25	6	10
	To James Chase	5	0	0
	To Aaron Dally	134	13	6
August 25.	To Mary Ferguson	104	17	6
29.	To Eliz. Worthington	58	10	0
	To Matth. Reynolds	71	0	0
		12604	12	2

A Particular of Bills attested by the Countess
of Derby, and paid, viz. 1690.

October 24.	To Anne Dewhurst	13	16	0
Dec. 27.	To Peter Harashe	394	10	10
	To Mary Devet	102	14	6
Jan. 23.	To Richard Beavoir	2067	6	7
Mar. 23.	To the Countess of Derby	64	10	0
	To William Tuer	40	18	6
24.	To Edward Vickers	23	6	8
	To Mary Ferguson	160	0	0
1691. 26.	To Sarah Browne	20	0	0
31.	To Eliz. Worthington	107	5	0
	To Christopher Spicer	50	9	3
	To Anne Dewhurst	13	0	0
	To Stephen Hugueny	15	0	0
	To Mr. Corns	17	4	0
	To Mr. Schent	112	0	0
	Carried over	3202	1	4
			To	

	Brought over	3202	1	4
	To John Bishop	83	0	0
	To Robert Blake	92	15	0
	To Robert Roads	22	4	0
	To Jos. Coles	42	0	0
	To Matth. Reynolds	67	10	0
April 2.	To Mary Ferguson	389	6	6
21.	To William Garraway	13	19	0
	To Gilb. Kirk	120	5	0
June 28.	To Eliz. du Perrier	250	0	0
August 15.	To Anne Vander Hoeven	221	19	0
Septemb. 2.	To Mary Ferguson	89	0	0
	To Sarah Browne	30	0	0
October 6.	To Mr. Tho. Morton	248	0	0
	To Thomas Alchorne	1008	0	0
	To John Prince	203	11	0
	To John Prince	352	0	0
	To Ditto	296	6	0
	To Godfrey Poole	124	18	0
	To Mary Bampton	853	9	5
	To George Hanbury	157	6	10
	To Ditto	58	0	0
	To Gerrard Smale	137	12	0
	To Jos. Coles	25	10	0
	To Tho. Cherret	1,275	0	0
	To Solomon Medina	244	13	0
	To Tho. Herbert	172	10	0
	To Richard Cooper	692	0	0
	To Ellen Becker	149	6	0
	To Stephen Hugueny	15	18	0
	To Matthew Talbot	20	10	0
	To Henry Senthouse	69	15	0
	To William Garraway	106	14	0
	To John Deacle	90	0	0
	To Henry Robins	10	10	0
	To Aaron Dally	112	0	0
	To Matthew Reynolds	84	0	0
		11,131	9	1

FINIS.